

Logm. 334 cm

Essay

AN
Essay on Spirit,

WHEREIN
The Doctrine of the TRINITY

IS CONSIDERED
In the Light of NATURE and REASON;

AS WELL AS
In the Light in which it was held by the
ancient *Hebrews* :

Compared also with the Doctrine of the
Old and New Testament.

WITH
An INQUIRY into the Sentiments of the Primitive
Fathers of the Church:

AND
The Doctrine of the TRINITY as maintained by the
Egyptians, Pythagoreans, and Platonists.

TOGETHER WITH
Some REMARKS on
The ATHANASIAN and NICENE CREEDS.

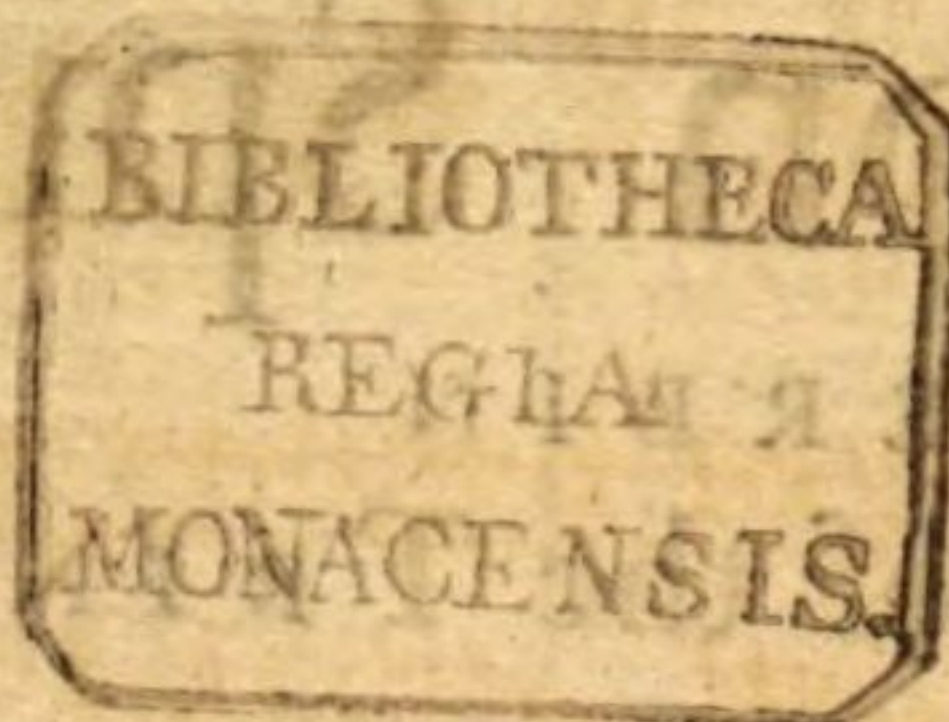
*Inanimum est omne, quod impulsu agitur externo; quod
autem animal est, id motu ciatur interiore, et suo.*
Cic. Som. Scip.

From the *Dublin* Copy, with
ADDITIONS and CORRECTIONS by the AUTHOR.

LONDON, printed :
And sold by J. NOON in the *Poultry*, G. WOODFALL
at *Charing-Cross*, and M. COOPER in *Pater-noster-row*.

MDCCLI.

[Price Sew'd 2 s. 6 d.]



ERRATA.

Page 24. l. 22. *dele* to

30. l. 14. *for* of which *r.* in which

63. l. 13, 14. *for* followeth *r.* followed

89. l. 1. *dele* and

141. l. 9, 10. *for* so to be *r.* so as to be.

MY LORD,

AS I am a Clergyman of the
established Church, and have
for some Years been possessed
of an Ecclesiastical Preferment, in-
to which, before I could be admit-
ted,

ted, I was obliged to subscribe the four first Canons, which include my Assent to the Articles of our Religion, and also to declare publicly my unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every thing, contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*: And, as I have not been so much employed about my temporal Affairs, but that I have found Leisure to apply some Time to my Books, and to *think* as well as *read*; I find that I do not now agree exactly in Sentiment, either with my former Opinions, or with those Persons who drew up the Articles of our Religion, or with the Compilers of our Liturgy, and, in particular, with the *Athanasian Creed*: And therefore I have laboured under



der some Difficulties, how to direct myself in these Circumstances.

There was a Sermon preached, not many Years ago, by Dr. *Conybear*, before the University of *Oxford*, which seems to have been approved of by them; and which hath since been reprinted in *Ireland*, wherein he asserts, that every one who subscribes the Articles of Religion, does thereby engage, not only not to dispute or contradict them; but that his Subscription amounts to an Approbation of, and an Assent to the Truth of the Doctrine therein contained, in the very Sense which the Compilers thereof are supposed to have understood them: That they are not to be

considered as Articles of Peace, but of Doctrine, as the very Title denotes, which is, *For the avoiding Diversities of Opinions, and for establishing Consent touching true Religion.* Whereas I apprehend any Attempt towards avoiding Diversity of Opinions, not only to be an uselefs, but also an impracticable Scheme; since I do not only doubt whether the Compilers of the Articles, but even whether any two *thinking Men* ever agreed exactly in their Opinion, not only with regard to All the Articles, but even with Regard to any One of them; so that if they were to give their own Interpretation of them, there would be found as many different Sentiments as there were Interpreters: The Difference indeed would

would not always be great; but still there would be a Difference.

I said *thinking Men*, for, as to the unthinking Herd, whatever was the Creed of their Father, or Tutor, that will be theirs, from their Infancy, to their Lives End; and accordingly, whatever Country you go into, let the Religion be what it will, the unthinking Part thereof are always the reputed Orthodox.

An *Uniformity of Profession* may indeed be both practicable and useful; and seems in some degree to be necessary, not only for the Preservation of Peace, but also for the general Good and Welfare of Society:

ciety: Since I do not conceive how any Society or Commonwealth can subsist, unless some Form of Religion or other be established therein; as well with regard to Points of Doctrine as Discipline; which however ought to be as plain, few, and fundamental, as possible. And as no established Form of Religion can subsist, unless that Form be publicly made known, and the Teachers thereof are laid under some Obligation, either by Subscription or otherwise, of complying with that Form, and of not preaching, or publicly teaching, any Doctrine contrary thereto; so, I own, I do not see any Manner of Impropriety in the Legislative Power of any Society insisting upon such a kind of Subscription,

Subscription, as is only required to be made for Peace-sake, and the Preservation of the outward Forms of Society: Since a Man under these Circumstances may, for prudential Reasons, honestly subscribe and submit *to the Use* of one established Form, though he, in his own private Opinion, may think another to be better; provided that he is not obliged to subscribe any thing sinful; or so diametrically opposite to Truth, as that he cannot possibly put any other Construction upon it.

The first Subscription, that I know of, was set on foot at the Council of *Nice*, when the famous Contest about the Trinity was determined

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terminated in Favour of the *consubstantial* Doctrine, by a Majority of near Twenty to One: To which the Emperor required all the Bishops then present to subscribe. But then he allowed every one to put their own Sense upon the Word *Consubstantial*, and not the Sense that was intended by the Compilers of the Creed: And accordingly, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, though he at first refused subscribing, yet when he was allowed to interpret the Word *Consubstantial*, as meaning only, *that the Son was not of the same Substance with the Creatures that were made by him*; he then subscribed it, and so, in a little Time after, did *Arius*.

Peace

Peace was what the Emperor wanted, and therefore he was content with Peace: But from the Time that Power was put into the Hands of the Church of *Rome*, implicit Faith and Obedience to her infallible Determinations being what she required; unless Subscriptions were then to be understood as made according to the Sense of the Compilers of the Articles, the Recusants were anathematized, and Fire and Faggot was the Word.

But as I apprehend that the Church of *Ireland* doth not set up for Infallibility, I do not think that she requireth any other Kind of Subscription than such as is necessary

fary for Peace and Quietness : And therefore I am now not much disturbed upon this Head. I likewise find by the Words of the Act of Parliament, which enjoins the Declaration of our “ Assent and Consent to all Things contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*,” that the Purport and Intent of the Act is, that this Declaration of Assent should be only *to the Use of* those Things which are contained in the said Book, which is very different from assenting to the Things themselves ; and therefore I am pretty easy also with regard to this.

How these Words, *to the Use of*, came to be omitted out of the express Form of Words that are ordered

dered to be read in Church for a legal Qualification, I cannot say, nor whether they were omitted out of Neglect, or by Design; but I own it seems to me, when I consider the Humour of the Times when that Act was made, that it was done with Design; as a Snare, to oblige poor [1] conscientious Men, who did not read the Act of Parliament at length, to give up their Livings, rather than declare their “unfeigned Assent and Consent to all
 “and every thing contained in *The*
 “*Book of Common-Prayer.*” For it is to be observed, that this Condition was not required by the *Act of*

[1] And accordingly, there were 1800 Persons that were actually deprived of their Livings, rather than submit to the Terms prescribed.

Uniformity,

Uniformity, as published in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, but was an Addition made thereto, after the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, when the Nation was, as it were, mad with the Joy of having recovered its ancient Constitution both in Church and State : The little Oath therefore, wherein it was declared, *that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King*, was at the same time inserted into the *Act of Uniformity*. Which Part of that Act hath been since repealed ; and indeed I cannot but sincerely wish, that the other Addition, which was made at the same time, was so far rectified, that the Words of the Declaration should
be

be made to correspond with the Design of the Act, which manifestly was, to require the Declaration of Assent and Consent only *to the Use of* all and every thing contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*. Because I think that That solemn Declaration which a Clergyman is obliged to make in the Presence of God and his Congregation, when he is going to take upon himself the Care of their Souls, ought to be simple, positive, plain; free from all Ambiguity or Doubtfulness; and should be expressed in such a Manner, as that it cannot be misunderstood, either by him, or by the Congregation; but that he may safely and honestly make it, according to that *plain and ordinary*

Sense of the Words, in which they would commonly be understood by all Mankind, without any Evasion, Equivocation, or mental Reservation whatsoever; that is, without any latent Reference to the Intention of the Act, which is not expressed in the very Words of the Declaration.

And indeed I am the more desirous of this, because I know for a Certainty, that some of the most learned and conscientious Persons among the Dissenters, have made the Form of our Declaration of “unfeigned Assent and Consent to All and Every thing contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer,*” an Objection,

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tion if not the principal one, against coming into our Church.

As also because some of our own Brethren, who consider Subscriptions in the same Light with the bigotted Members of the Church of *Rome*, and probably never read, or never duly considered the *Act of Uniformity*, have taken Occasion, from that Form of Declaration of Assent, to brand those, who presume to doubt, or differ from them in any of their imaginary orthodox Notions, with the Imputation of Perjury, or, at least, of Hypocrisy.

But though we should suppose this was done, and that Subscrip-

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tions

tions were declared to be only required for Peace-sake ; yet there is still a Difficulty which remains behind, with regard to those who do not approve of all the Articles of the established Religion, or of every thing in the Liturgy ; because it is natural for them to desire, that those Things, which they take to be Errors should be amended ; and yet it is found by Experience, that whoever attempts to find fault with the Canons or the Articles of Religion, or the established Form of Liturgy, becomes immediately a Disturber of the Peace of the Church, as he is sure, at least, to be loaded with the opprobrious Name of *Schismatic*, or *Heretic*, which, ever since the Days of *Pope*
pery,

pery, are Sounds that occasion wondrous Horror in the Ears of the Vulgar.

Whoever considers the Difficulties which attend the Reformation of Religion in general, and, in particular, the Difficulties which attended these Nations in their Reformation from *Popery*, ought to thank God that so much was done at that Time as was done, rather than repine that more was not effected. The Humour of the Times would not suffer a more thorough Reformation; these Nations having been so long accustomed to a Kind of utter Darknes, that their Eyes would not bear too much Light to be let in at once.

Christianity was not established, nor the *Jewish* Religion thoroughly reformed, all on a sudden. After St. *Paul* had been many Years a Preacher of the Gospel, he complied with the *Jewish* Ceremony of [2] *shaving his Head in Cenchrea*, because he was under a Vow; and of [3] purifying himself at the Temple of *Jerusalem*, rather than give Offence to the *Jews*. And the whole Council of Apostles, when assembled at *Jerusalem*, assented to enjoin those [4] *Jewish* Profelytes, who, from among the *Gentiles*, were turned unto God, to continue for some

[2] Acts xviii. 18.

[3] Acts xxi. 24.

[4] Acts xv. 19. xx. 29.

time

time under a prohibition from eating Things strangled, and from Blood, which hath been long since discontinued. And our Saviour himself was pleased to declare, that he concealed many Truths, till the Disciples should be *able to bear them*, John xvi. 12.

The present Constitution of these Kingdoms, both in Church and State, is, in my sincere Opinion, the best in the known World; but I will not say, that it is not capable of being still further amended. What then is to be done? For if the Church be not infallible any more than the State, why may not that be amended as well as the State? And why should we be

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more

more afraid of breaking the Peace of the Church than of the State? The Peace of the one being full as necessary to be preserved as the Peace of the other.

The *Christian* Religion was, at its first Propagation, called a [5] *Heresy*; and therefore [6] *St. Paul*, in his Apology to *Felix*, said, *This I confess, that after the Way which they call HERESY, so worship I the God of my Fathers.* Which Denomination was continued to it, so long as to the Time of *Constantine* the Great, who, in his Epistle to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracuse*, calls

[5] Acts xxviii. 22.

[6] Acts xxiv. 5, 14.

the *Christian* Religion the [7] *Catholic Heresy*: Which Letter was written after the Emperor had declared in favour of *Christianity*.

Αἵρεσις, according to *Stephens*, signifies, in general, the same thing with the *Latin* Words *Secta* and *Dogma*, that is, a *Sect* or *Opinion*. And accordingly he reckons up ten *Sects* or *Heresies* of the ancient *Philosophers*. But among the *Ecclesiastical Writers*, says he, it signifies an *Opinion*, or *Sect that is contrary to the orthodox Faith*. But as the established Religion of every Country is that which consti-

[7] Τῆς αἱρέσεως τῆς καθολικῆς. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. x. cap. 5.

tutes *Orthodoxy*, according to the common Sense of the Word ; hence it is, that they who differ and separate therefrom are generally called *Hereticks* ; and hence it comes to pass, that a Person may be esteemed as very orthodox in *England* or *Ireland*, who would be deemed as an Heretic at *Rome*, or in other Countries. And for the same Reason it was, that the *Christians* were at first called *Heretics* in *Judæa*, because they separated from the *Jewish*, which was the established Religion of the Country ; and were also called *Heretics* in *Rome*, because they refused joining with the *Heathen*, which was the then established Religion there.

It

It is therefore possible that an Heretic may be in the right; according to the original Sense of the Word. It is also possible that he may be in the wrong. And therefore St. *Peter* says, [8] *There are false Teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable Heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them.* And St. *Paul* says, [9] *I hear there are Schisms among you; and I partly believe it: For* THERE MUST BE ALSO HERESIES, *that they which are approved may be made manifest.* Now there is no other Necessity for Heresies being among them but this: That God

[8] 2 Pet. ii. 1.

[9] 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19.

did not frame human Nature in such a Manner as to necessitate all Men to be of one Mind ; but having made Mankind to be free Agents, he *left them in the Hand of their own Council*, to chuse their own Opinions for themselves ; according to the Merit or Demerit of which Choice, they will be proper Subjects for Rewards or Punishments. And therefore, while this Constitution of human Nature remains, *there must be* Schisms, Divisions, Heresies, or a Diversity of Sects among them. And as all Mankind think themselves to be in the right, so they naturally conclude all those who differ from them to be in the wrong ; and hence it comes to pass, that the Word *He-
retic*

retic is generally used in a bad Sense, though because a Person is an Heretic, or is of a different Sect from the established Religion, it does by no means follow, that therefore he must be in the wrong. If the Persons from whom he differs should be infallible, as it is allowed the Apostles were, then indeed it would follow, of consequence, that the Heretic or Separatist must be in an Error. And if, after Instruction and Admonition, he will not amend, it is then fit he should be ejected, or excommunicated out of the Society of the Faithful, lest his Exemption from Punishment should give Encouragement to the Seduction of others; for though it cannot be supposed that his Excommunication

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nication will amend himself, yet it may contribute to save other Persons.

And hence it is, that St. *Paul*, in his Advice to *Titus*, says, *A Man that is an Heretic, after the first and second Admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such, is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.* Which Admonition and Rejection shews the Crime of Heresy to consist in an Error of the Will, rather than of the Judgment; for otherwise *Titus* would have been directed to instruct such a Person, rather than to admonish him. But as it is to be supposed that Information and Instruction would be first tried by *Titus*, even
I before

before the first Admonition, therefore it is the Perverseness of his Will, in still persisting in his Sect or Heresy after Admonition, that seems to be the Cause and Foundation of his Excommunication: For, says St. *Paul*, such a one is *subverted* from the Faith, and *sinneth*, by persevering therein after Admonition; and is *self-condemned*, as having no Excuse of Ignorance to plead after his being admonished thereof: He may indeed not be *self-condemned* with regard to his Error, because he may not be convinced that he is in an Error; but may think himself to be in the right, when he is in the wrong: Whereas, with regard to his Heresy,

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refy or Separation from the Church to which he belonged, he cannot be ignorant thereof, after Admonition, for differing from the Sense of the Church ; and therefore if he persists therein after being admonished, he must be *self-condemned*, with regard to his Perseverance in opposition to the Church.

And as every legislative Power is so far infallible, as it is the dernier Refort, and only Judge now left upon Earth, of what is right and wrong, within the Limits of its own Jurisdiction ; therefore when any Form of Religion hath been once established, they who separate therefrom, or act in direct Opposition to its Commands, are to be treated

treated as if such legislative Power was infallible; and if they will not submit, upon Admonition, are to be rejected, to prevent others from being seduced, and to preserve the Peace of Society.

By which Rejection, or Excommunication, I do not mean an Exclusion from Civil Rights, and the Protection of the Civil Magistrate, but only from the outward and visible Communion of the Church, and its faithful Members, and all the particular Benefits which properly belong thereto, or may result therefrom; from which, as it is by their own Choice that they differ, in disobeying its Rules, or rejecting its Communion, it can be no Injustice

justice that they should be excluded, if they still persist in their Disobedience after Admonition.

Since therefore it appears, that a Man's being of a wrong Opinion is not that which properly denominates him an *Heretic*, but rather his being of a different Opinion from the Majority; one would be apt to wonder why that Word, in general, should have so bad an Idea annexed to it; but that the Answer thereto is obvious, *viz.* That it arises from our having too great a Fondness for ourselves, and our own Opinions; and too great an Aversion to those who differ in Opinion from us.

There

There is indeed no Reason to be assigned in general, why Men should be more displeased with one another for being of different Opinions, than for their being of different Sizes, or for having a different personal Appearance. And were it not that Experience convinces us of the Matter of Fact, it would be hard to believe that Men's Passions could carry them to that Degree of Animosity against each other, on account of Opinions barely speculative, which we find practised in all Countries, and almost all Ages.

I can very well conceive why Men should contract an Aversion
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and an Hatred for one another about Opinions where their temporal Interests are concerned ; and do not wonder, when I read, that [1] *Demetrius* the Silversmith raised a Tumult against *Paul* at *Ephesus*, for saying, that *they be no Gods which are made with Hands*, because by this bold Assertion, as *Demetrius* acknowledged, this *Craft* was in danger to be set at nought, and, ye know, *Sirs*, said he, *that by this Craft we have our Wealth*.

But it is not so easy to account why one Man should bear an ill Will to his Neighbour, or any of his Fellow-Creatures, for being of

[1] Acts xix. 24.

a different Opinion from him in Matters barely speculative, in which the other is no way concerned, further than as he is a [2] Man, and a Lover of Mankind. In which Respect every Body ought to be so far concerned for his Fellow-Creature as to do all that lies in his Power to contribute to the Happiness of each other; but then this is to be done in a proper, kind, and friendly Manner: And, if that will not prevail, contrary Methods ought by no means to be attempted; since that Principle which directs us to use all Men well, can never vindicate us in using any Man ill.

[2] *Homo sum, humani nihil à me alienum puto.*

If one Man is a *Christian*, and another is a *Jew*, *Turk*, or Infidel, of any Denomination, there can be no more Reason for having a Dislike upon that account to each other, than because they were not all born in the same Country, or bred up under the same Tutor, or do not all speak the same Language; since ninety-nine in an hundred of those who are *Christians*, would probably have been *Mahometans*, if they had been born in *Turkey*, and would have imbibed their Religion, as they do their native Tongue, along with their Mother's Milk: And the same may be said of *Jews* or *Mahometans*, that they would have been *Christians*,

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stians, if they had been born in a *Christian* Country, and of *Christian* Parents.

If it pleases the Almighty to endow one Man with a better Understanding, or greater natural Abilities of any kind, than his Neighbour, to appoint the Place of his Birth, where he has better Opportunities of being informed in true Religion, or to produce him from such Parents as will take care that he is better educated in the Paths of Virtue; these are Blessings for which he ought to be thankful to his Creator; but are far from being any Reason why he should bear an Ill-will to those Persons, who have not received the same Advantages

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Advantages from Providence; or why he should not live in a kind and neighbourly Manner with them, though he thinks them in an Error with regard to their religious Principles.

And yet Experience convinces us, that the Conduct of Mankind is quite otherwise; which can be attributed to nothing but a vicious Pride in our Nature, which makes us not content with the Applause of our own Conscience, when we think ourselves in the Right, unless we have the Applause of others also: And renders us solicitous to gain Followers and Admirers, at the same Time that it gives us an Aversion

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Aversion for every one that differs in Opinion from us.

Athanasius, in answer to this Question. Πόθεν λέγεται Αἵρεσις; unde dicitur *Hæresis*? saith, Ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι τι ἴδιον, ἢ τοῦτο ἐξακολουθεῖν, *Ab eligendo & proseguendo sententiam suam privatam*. So that the conceiving of Error is not that which constitutes the Crime of Heresy, but the prosecuting and persevering in it, to the raising of a Party, and exciting *Followers*, whence also the Word *Sect* is derived; and for this Reason it is that St. *Paul* reckons up *Heresies* among such [3] Works of the Flesh, as *Hatred, Variance, Emu-*

[3] Gal. v. 20, 21.

tions, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Envyings, Murders, and such like, as it is near of Kind to them, and may be the Foundation and Cause of them.

What then is it the Duty of any Person to do, who is the professed Member of any established Church, if he sees, or imagines he sees, any Errors, either in the Doctrine or Discipline of that Church? Must he, for fear of disturbing the Peace of the Church, and being deemed a Schismatic, or Heretic, sit down quietly, and not endeavour to set them to Rights? Or, must he fly off, and separate immediately from it?

As

As to the First, if Men were not to declare their Opinions, in spight of Establishments either in Church or State, Truth would soon be banished the Earth. Error puts on so much a fairer Outside, ornaments itself with so many plausible Appearances, and comes loaded with so many Bribes to tempt us from our Duty; that, if Truth did not sometimes shew itself, and exert its Abilities in its own Defence, the World would be soon over-run with Error, as an uncultivated Garden with Weeds. Of which the Experience of Times past is sufficient to convince us, by the Growth and Continuance of Errors in the Church of *Rome*, from the Time that the Bible

Bible was shut, and the Court of Inquisition opened.

And as to the Second, whoever he is who thinks he ought to separate from that Church wherein he sees some Errors, if it will not immediately reform and amend them; and thinks it his Duty to refuse joining in Communion with any Set of Men, till he meets with a Constitution, either in Church or State, that is absolutely free from Errors; such an one, I fear, is not fitted for this World, but must live by himself, till he is conducted into a Society of Angels.

In my Opinion, therefore, the middle Course is that which he
ought

ought to pursue, which in this Affair, as well as most others, is certainly the best.

Let us consider how a Person in like Circumstances, with regard to the State, ought to conduct himself; and this may perhaps determine our Behaviour with regard to the other. For we generally talk more calmly, as well as more rationally, concerning the Affairs of the State, than of the Church.

Suppose a Person sees any Errors in that Constitution of Government under which he lives; may he not, ought he not to lay his Opinion before the Legislative Powers of that Society, in order to procure
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an Amendment of it? I think he ought. But then he ought at the same time, unless in Cases of the utmost Necessity, where the Vitals of the Constitution are in Danger, not only not to desert the State, though the Amendment should not be made; but also to avoid raising *Parties* or *Factions* in the State, for the Support of his Opinion; which in the Ecclesiastical Style, would be called *Heresies*.

But to this it is objected, that here the Parallel will not hold, because Men's temporal Interests will restrain them from overturning the Establishment of the State; whereas too many would be very glad to have the Establishment of the Church quite

quite set aside. It may therefore be dangerous to begin with making Alterations or Amendments in the Church, lest those Scaffoldings which are erected for Repairs, should be made use of to pull down the whole Fabric.

With humble Submission however to these cautious Gentlemen, I am under less Apprehension for the Church than for the State: For, as to the *Christian* Religion in general, we have the sure Word of Prophecy, that *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*. And as to particular Establishments, I should apprehend, that the freer they were from Errors, the more likely they would be to stand. At least, I should

should think it would be right to run some Risque, and place some Trust in the Providence of God, rather than let Errors of any Consequence remain.

But, say they again, *Truth is not to be spoken at all Times.* Which I will allow so far, as to acknowledge, that Prudence and Temper is to be made use of even in the Publication of Truth; but not that Truth may be concealed for ever, under the Pretence, that the Publication of it at present would be out of Season; for if Error may be safely established, and Truth concealed, how can we vindicate all that Outcry that was made by *Protestants* against the Doctrine of *Transub-*

Transubstantiation, &c? Since it is manifest, that before the Reformation took place, the same Arguments were then made use of against any Innovations in Religion that are now. And all Alterations in the established Form of Worship were then as much declaimed against by the Ecclesiastics of those Days, as they can be at present.

I am not against joining the Wisdom of the Serpent with the Innocence of the Dove: But I would not have the Wisdom of the Serpent without the Innocence of the Dove. Let us be as wise as possible in defending what is right in our Establishment, but let us not exert the same Wisdom in defend-
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ing what is wrong. But, above all, let us, in the Name of God, take care, that our Foundations be clear, and that our Articles and Creeds are free from Error.

The Author of these Papers, though he hath addressed them to Your GRACE, is very sensible, that it is not in Your Power, nor in that of all the Ecclesiastics of the Land, to alter the established Form of Worship; he knows, that the *Act of Uniformity*, upon which it depends, and of which our Liturgy is a Part, was passed into a Law, by the joint Consent of the three Estates of the Realm; and he trusts in God, that he never shall see the Church independent on the State.

But,

But, my LORD, though the Bishops and Clergy, either in or out of Convocation, cannot redress, yet they may recommend; the Author, however, cannot but remark, that he does not recollect any Instance in History, since the Times of the Apostles, where the Reformation of Religion in any material Points hath been brought about by the Influence of the Clergy in general; the Bulk of them, who are always the least knowing, being most tenacious of old Opinions. The Pope, indeed, every now and then, makes some Reformation of the Calendar of Saints, and strikes out a few antiquated Holy-days, in order to make Room for new Canonizations:

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tions: But if we are to take our Precedents from what hath hitherto passed in the Reformation of any material Points in Religion, it must be effected by a few leading Persons among the Clergy, when supported by the upper and more thinking Part of the Laity.

And, as it hath pleased God and His Majesty to call you to the Primacy of this Church, the Author cannot think of any Person more proper to address himself to at present, than Your GRACE; as well on account of Your personal Abilities, as of Your Interest with those leading Members of the Society, whether Laymen or Clergy, who compose the Legislative Power of this Realm.

And

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And as he thinks this to be the most proper and *Christian* Method of conveying his own Sentiments to *the Powers that be*; so hath he also published his Sentiments in the Garb of a metaphysical Essay, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the lower Class of Readers, whose Thoughts might be disturbed by an Enquiry into Subjects of this Nature; till by gentle Degrees they come, by the Blessing of God, to be made a Part of the established Religion of the Country; which will give them a proper Recommendation and Weight with those, who are not otherwise capable of judging of them.

Not that he expects, that every Thing, which he hath advanced

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in this *Essay*, is to be received by his Reader as an Article of Faith, but only that it may have its due Weight in his serious Considerations; for as he is desirous, that no human Conjectures may be imposed upon him, as of equal Authority with Divine Revelation; so neither does he desire, that his Conjectures should be obtruded upon others.

The Author is thoroughly convinced, that Ministers of State will be very cautious, and with great Reason, how they embroil themselves with religious Disputes. But as he does not apprehend, that there is any Need of pursuing violent Methods, so neither does he expect that a thorough Reformation of
I
every

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every thing that may be amended, should be made all at once. He could wish, however, that something was done, to convince the World, that the Clergy of the Church of *Ireland*, are not averse to a proper Reformation of such Parts of her Public Service, as demand a more immediate Revival; since, otherwise, they may give Offence by their Obstinacy, and seeming Infalibility; and if a Storm should arise, may run a Risque of having that Tree torn up by the Roots, which might have been saved by a little pruning.

As the Laws of the Land require
Subscriptions to be made to the
Canons and Articles of our Reli-
gion, only by Clergymen, Fellows
d 3 of

of Colleges, Clerks, and School-Masters, so these do not seem to need that immediate Redress, which those Parts of our Worship require, in which the whole Community are expected to join.

He thinks, that he need not inform Your GRACE, That that Creed, which is commonly called the *Atbanasian* Creed, hath of a long Time given Offence, and continueth to give great Offence to many People. And indeed not without Reason, if we consider it only in this Light, that the Subject of a great Part of it, is a Theologico-Metaphysical Dispute, which few, if any, of the Learned understand; but is undoubtedly above the Capacity of the Vulgar; and yet,

yet, by being made a Part of our Public Service, every Body, as well low as high, is required to assent to it.

It is also now universally acknowledged among the Learned, that it was originally a spurious Production, imposed upon the World under the Name of *Athanasius*, till detected by the Criticisms of the learned *Vossius*. But, supposing it had been a genuine Piece, and had been undoubtedly written by *Athanasius*, there can be no Reason assigned, why the Members of the Church of *Ireland* should be tied down to assent to the Compositions of a private Person, who had no other Merit, which the Author can find, for being declared a Saint, but his base and low Sub-

mission to the Bishop of *Rome*, who had no legal Authority over him ; and his insolent Behaviour to his lawful Prince, who undoubtedly had a Right to his Obedience.

The Author does, by no means, presume to prescribe to Your GRACE ; but he thinks himself in duty obliged to recommend it to Your Consideration, whether the first Step to be taken is not to try to get the Words in the Declaration of Assent and Consent made agreeable to the Intention of the Act, which was attempted in *England*, A. D. 1663, about a Year after the last *Act of Uniformity*, and passed the House of Lords, but was thrown out in the House of Commons, by the then over-ruling Influence of the Duke

Duke of *York*, and his Party, who did not let the Clause proposed pass even the House of Lords without a Protest. But, as we are now, thank God, free from any Apprehensions of the prevailing Influence of such an Administration, he hopes Your GRACE will not decline making the Attempt here, as he apprehends it will open a Freedom of Conversation among those Persons, who have hitherto imagined themselves to be Tongue-tied, by having publicly and absolutely given their unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and every thing contained in the *Book of Common-Prayer*.

Which will be a proper, if not necessary, Preparative to a gradual Reception of those further Emen-
dations

dations of our Liturgy, which are proposed by some anonymous Authors, in the second Edition of a Book, lately published, entitled, *Free and candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England*. With whom, though the Author of these Papers does not agree in Opinion, concerning the Doctrine contained in the *Athanasian Creed*, and a few other Particulars: Yet he cannot avoid giving them their due Commendations, for the true *Christian* Spirit of Candour, Moderation, and Meekness, which breathes through their whole Performance.

It is indeed prohibited by the *Act of Uniformity*, under severe Penalties, for any Person *to preach, declare, or speak any thing to the*
Dero-

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Derogation or depraving the Book of Common-Prayer, or any Part thereof; which, however, is by no means inconsistent with that *Christian Liberty* of a decent and free Use either of Conversation, or of the Press, concerning any Alterations or Amendments, which it may be right and prudent to have made therein. As he apprehends, that every Person is liable to be punished by the Laws of the Land, who shall *preach, declare, or speak to the Derogation or depraving* any Act of Parliament, while it continues in Force: And yet common Reason, as well as common Custom, allows every Person to propose Alterations, and speak his Mind with regard to any Amendments, which
may

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may be made therein, provided it be done with common Decency, and a due Respect to the Legislative Powers of the Realm.

And when this is complied with, he then looks upon it as the Duty of such as see any Errors in the Constitution, either of Church or State, to lay their Sentiments before *the Powers that be*, in order to produce an Amendment; which is the Motive that prevails with the Author of these Papers, to give Your GRACE the Trouble of this Address; and to recommend to those in Authority the Consideration of the Advice given by the learned and religious Dr. *Hammond*, in his Treatise, entitled, [4] *A View*

[4] See Sect. 40.

of the new Directory. Where, speaking in favour of the Moderation used in our Church-Catechism, he saith, “ If we would all keep ourselves within that Moderation, and propose no larger Catalogue of *Credenda* to be believed by all than the *Apostles Creed*, as it is explained in our *Catechism*, doth propose; and lay the greater Weight upon the Consideration and Performance of the Vow of Baptism, and all the Commands of God, as they are explained by *Christ*; — I should be confident there would be less hating and *damning* one another, (which is most ordinarily for Opinions) more *Piety* and *Charity*, and so true *Christianity* among
Christians

“ *Christians* and *Protestants*, than
 “ hath hitherto been met with.”
 Which would be the most proper
 Method that could be taken, to ren-
 der the Church of *Ireland* truly
catholic ; not by driving Members
 out of its *Pale*, on account of hu-
 man Appointments and Determina-
 tions, in imitation of the Church of
Rome ; but by opening the Gates of
 its Communion as wide as was con-
 sistent with the Gospel of *Christ*.

The Preface to our *Book of Com-
 mon-Prayer* declares, that “ the parti-
 “ cular Forms of divine Worship, and
 “ the Rites and Ceremonies appoint-
 “ ed to be used therein, being Things
 “ in their own Nature indifferent
 “ and alterable, and so acknow-
 “ ledged, it is but reasonable, that
 “ upon weighty and important Con-
 sider-

“ fiderations, according to the various
 “ Exigencies of Times and Occasions,
 “ fuch Changes and Alterations may
 “ be made therein, as to thofe that are
 “ in Place and Authority fhould,
 “ from Time to Time feem either ne-
 “ ceflary or expedient.”

The Eyes of Mankind have been greatly opened, not only fince the Reformation, but even fince the Revolution. And that Liberty of Converfation and the Prefs, which the Inhabitants of thefe Kingdoms have ever fince been glorioufly indulged in, hath much promoted a Freedom of thinking, which was curbed and kept down, during the Dominion and Influence of *Popery*.

And as at prefent the Generality of thefe Nations feem more inclinable to liften to Reason than formerly, the Author of thefe Papers hath that Confidence

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fidence both in the Soundness of Your GRACE's Judgment, and the Prudence of Your Conduct, that he makes no Doubt of Your doing every thing that is proper upon this Occasion, to remove those Rocks of Offence, which lie in the Way of so many well-meaning Persons.

This attempt of his, he thinks, however, for many Reasons, to be worth the making, because, though it should not succeed, yet he is sure of having that Satisfaction from it, that he can say, *Liberavi Animam meam*; SEE YE TO IT: And that it furnishes him with an Opportunity of professing himself to be

Your GRACE's

Most devoted, and

Most obedient

Humble Servant.

AN
ESSAY
 ON
SPIRIT.

I. **T**HE Opinion of [1] *Spinoza* was, that there is no other *Substance* in Nature but God: That Modes cannot subsist, or be conceived, without a Substance: That there is nothing in Nature but Modes and Substances: And that therefore every Thing must be conceived as subsisting in God.

Which Opinion, with some few Alterations, hath been embraced and culti-

[1] *Præter Deum nulla datur, nec concipi potest Substantia, (per Proposit. xiv.) hoc est (per Defin.) Res, quæ in se est, & per se concipitur. Modi autem (per Defin. v.) sine Substantia, nec esse, nec concipi possunt: Quare hi in sola divina natura esse, & per ipsam solam concipi possunt.*

Spin. Oper. posth. Ethices par. I. pag. 12.

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vated, by *P. Malbranche* and Bishop *Berkeley*.

II. It may indeed be asserted, that there is in Nature but one Self-existent Being, Subsistence, or Substance, which, by way of Eminence, may therefore be called *the Substance*; or, figuratively and comparatively speaking, *the only Being, Subsistence, or Substance* in Nature. For by these three Words, I would be understood to mean one and the same Thing. The Logicians define *Substantia* to be *Ens per se subsistens & subsistans accidentibus*. And I mean the same Thing by a *Being, Existence, Subsistence, or Substance*; that is, something capable of supporting *Modes, Accidents, Relations, or Properties*, which are only different Words, to denote the various *Manners* or *Modes*, by which Existent Beings can raise Ideas in our Minds, or, which is the same Thing, can become knowable by us. Every Existence or Being, I therefore call a *Substance*; the Manner in which it makes an Impression on our Minds, I call a *Mode*; and the Effect or Impression, which is thereby made upon the Mind, I call an *Idea*.

Now

Now as NOTHING *can have no Properties*, wherever we perceive any Properties, we therefore reasonably conclude, that there must be SOMETHING ; that is, some Existence or other to support them. Hence the Maxim laid down by *Spinoza*, *Modi sine Substantia, nec esse, nec concipi possunt* : Or, as Sir *Isaac Newton* expresseth it [2], *Virtus sine Substantia subsistere non potest*.

And as God is the only Self-existent Being, therefore he may, comparatively speaking, be said to be the only Being in Nature. And accordingly, when *Moses* enquired of God, by what Name he should make him known to the Children of *Israel*, God said, [3] *Thus shalt thou say to the Children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you*. That is, I *that* AM hath sent me unto you ; for so it should have been rendered. And therefore, in the first Part of the Verse, where God saith unto *Moses*, *I am that I am* ; it should be rendered, I AM *that* AM, as it is by the *Septuagint*, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν, that is, *I am he that is*, or that exists, as if, comparatively speaking, there was no other Being or Existence but God.

[2] Newt. *Princ. Schol. gen.* p. 483. [3] *Exod. iii. 14.*

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From which Passage it probably was, that [4] *Plato* borrowed his Notion of the Name of God, when he asserted, that the Word εἷς, *est*, is solely applicable to the eternal Nature of God. And from him it also probably was, that the Word εἶ, *i. e. thou art*, was all that was written on the Door of the *Delphic* Temple: Upon which *Plutarch* remarks, that this Word is solely applicable to God, since that which truly *is* must be sempiternal.

All which is true, when we speak of God in a figurative and less correct Manner, only in Comparison with the Creatures that have been made by him; between whom and their Creator there is no Proportion; and which, when considered in Comparison with him, are as *Nothing*. Which is the View that God is to be considered in, as spoken of in the above-mentioned Passages, quoted out of the Books of *Moses*, and the Theological Works of *Plato*.

[4] *Plato*, *Timæus*.

III. But when we speak of God and his Works, in a philosophical and more accurate Manner, this will not hold. Since, as *Des Cartes* truly argues, *I know that I exist*. I cannot be deceived in this. If therefore I exist, and that I am not God, then there is another Existence in Nature beside God. I hope I cannot be thought so absurd, or so impious, as to imagine, that there are more Gods than *one*; or that I did not receive my Existence from the Will and Power of God: The Consciousness of my own Existence necessarily leads me to a first Cause, which first Cause can only be *one*; because two first Causes are a Contradiction in Terms. Every Thing therefore that exists, beside that *First Cause*, which Way soever it is brought forth into Being, whether it be *begotten, emanated, created, or spoken forth*, it must proceed from, and owe its Existence to the [5] Will, as well as Power of that first Cause. However, sure I am, that since I

[5] *Athanasius* acknowledges it to be impious, to say that God the Father was necessitated to act, even when he begat the Son: And allows also that neither the Son nor Holy Spirit are the first Cause; but the Father alone, and that the Son and Holy Spirit were both caused. *Athan.* Vol. I. p. 512. *Id.* Vol. II. p. 442, 443.

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do exist, I exist as a separate and distinct Existence from God ; though not independent of him.

IV. And as my own Consciousness convinces me of my own Existence, so does the same Faculty convince me, that this Existence of mine is composed of two very different Kinds of Existence, that is, of a thinking, active, powerful, Existence ; and a dull, heavy, inactive, Existence. One of which, to wit, the active, we will, for Distinction sake, without entering into any further metaphysical Disputes about Words, call the spiritual Existence, Subsistence, or Substance ; and the other, *viz.* the inactive, we will call the material or bodily Existence ; and sometimes, for Brevity sake, we will call one *Spirit*, and the other *Matter* or *Body*.

V. Wherein the Nature or Essence, either of this material or this spiritual Substance does consist, we are entirely ignorant ; for we know them only by the Effects or the Influence, which some of their Modes or Properties have upon our Minds. Thus, for Example, though we are capable of perceiving the Hardness, Colour, Figure, &c.

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of material Existences; yet are we entirely ignorant, what it is that supports those Properties; or wherein the Nature, Essence, or Identity of *Body* does consist, when the Hardness, Figure, Colour, &c. is either altered or removed. In like Manner, we are equally ignorant of the Nature or Essence of Spirit: We know indeed some of the Properties thereof, such as, Perception, Thinking, Willing, Doubting, &c. But we know not the Essence of that spiritual Being within us, which perceives, thinks, wills, or doubts, &c.

VI. And though we know not wherein the Nature or Essence, either of Body or Spirit does consist; yet we find by Experience, that is, from the Effects which we feel from within, and from without ourselves, that these two Kinds of Existences, of which the human Constitution is composed, have very different and inconsistent Properties: As for Example, that one has the Power of Motion in itself; whereas the other can neither put itself into Motion, nor put a Stop to its own Motions, when once begun; whence we reasonably conclude, that their Natures or Essence are also different.

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VII. We likewise find, from Experience, that there is a Difference between necessary and voluntary Motion; and that some Agents have a Power of beginning, varying, and putting a Stop to their own Motions *ad libitum*; while others invariably act after one regular, constant, and uniform Method of proceeding, equally, and at all Times. And although it is not easy to determine the Boundaries between those two Species of Beings, the Gradation from the one to the other, in some Instances, being so exceedingly exquisite, as for Example, between the vegetable and the animal Part of the Creation, as to render the Distinction hardly perceptible; yet sure we are of the Matter of Fact, *viz.* that there are some Beings, which are capable of voluntary Self-Motion, whereas we find, by Experience, that others are not: And since we find, by repeated Experiments, that that Kind of Existence, which we call *Matter*, is incapable of producing any Kind of Motion, either voluntary or involuntary; whenever we see any thing moved, we may fairly conclude the first Author, or Cause of that Motion, to be what we call *Spirit*.

VIII. It

VIII. It is beyond the Reach of human Abilities to explain, how these two different Kinds of Existence, the active and inactive, can have an Influence, or can possibly affect each other. When we see a Stone descend to the Ground, we are not much surprized, because it is common ; but certain it is, that the original Cause of that Motion must be some Spirit or other ; not only with regard to the Determination of that Motion, but also with regard to the whole *Momentum* of it : Since, as *Nothing can act where it is not*, that Power whereby any Body continues in Motion, is as much the Effect of some concomitant Spirit, as the Power which put it first in Motion.

IX. That Power also, whereby Matter is enabled to *resist* Motion, is as much the Effect of Spirit, as that whereby it is enabled to continue in Motion, when once communicated : Since Matter, as Matter, cannot possibly exert any active Power of any Kind, either in beginning, continuing, or resisting of Motion. It may remain at Rest, by virtue of its own Inactivity ; but if no active Power with-held it, a Mountain would be
as

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as easily moved as a Mole-Hill. Because that Resistance, Weight, or Gravity is occasioned by nothing else but the Tendency of one Body towards another, impelled thereto by the attractive Force of some Spirit. Which Tendency, or attractive Power, being in proportion to the [6] Quantity of Matter, makes the Difference of Weight or Gravity in Bodies. When therefore this Tendency is removed, there will be no Difference in their Gravity; because none of them, whether large or little, will have any at all: And of consequence; their Power of Resistance will be destroyed. Which plainly proves, that Resistance is something more than bare Inability, or a Want of Power, or a Negation of Spirit, as the Author of [7] *Siris* asserts it only to be.

X. And as there can be no Motion, without a Direction or Determination being

[6] Hactenus phænomena Cœlorum & Maris nostri per vim Gravitatis exposui; sed causam Gravitatis nondum assignavi. Oritur utique hæc Vis a Causa aliqua, quæ penetrat ad usque Centra Solis & Planetarum sine Virtutis diminutione; quæque agit, non pro quantitate Superficierum Particularum in quas agit, (ut solent causæ mechanicæ) sed pro quantitate Materiæ solidæ.

Newt. *Princ. Schol. gen.* p. 482.

[7] *Siris*, Sect. 290.

given

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given to that Motion; hence it will follow, that every Being, capable of moving, either itself, or any thing else, must also be endowed with an *Intellect*, or Understanding, capable of directing that Motion. And as nothing can act where it is not, hence also it is that Attraction, or Gravity, does not operate in proportion to the Superficies of Bodies, but according to the Quantity of Matter; because every, even the least Particle of active, or attractive Matter, must be directed in its Motions by some Spirit, united to that Matter, which may have just such a Quantity of Intellect communicated to it by its Creator, as will enable it to perform those Functions, which are assigned it by its Creator, in order to carry on the general Oeconomy of this Universe.

Which Functions, all active Beings that are not endowed with a Freedom of Will, must constantly and regularly perform, whenever there is an Opportunity given them of exerting those Faculties. And therefore, if they are appointed to perform the Operations of *Attraction* and *Repulsion*, they must, as necessary Agents, always *attract* or *repel* at certain Distances, and according to certain

certain and stated Rules, prescribed by their great Creator ; and will never vary in their Tendency towards this Body, or their Aversion from that ; but will for ever act in one uniform Way of attracting or repelling the same Bodies, and in one regular, constant, Method of proceeding. From the Observation of which Operations, those Rules, which are called the Laws of Motion, are deduced by the Curious.

XI. All Nature, therefore, seems to be animated, or alive ; and this whole World to be replete with *Spirits* formed with different Kinds and Degrees of Abilities, according to the various Ends and Uses, for which they were designed by their Creator. The Difference of whose intellectual Faculties may not only consist in the Difference of their original Formation as Spirits ; but also in the different Inlets for Knowledge, through the Tegument of that Body to which they are united, and by which the Spirit within is capable of receiving any Kind of Information, for the Improvement of its own Understanding.

But

But if the Almighty is pleased to add a *Liberty of Will* to this active Intellect, and create Spirits endowed with a Power of *voluntary Motion*, then it seems necessary that Almighty God should confer also upon such intelligent Spirits, such Faculties and Powers, as would enable them to be capable of perceiving Pleasure or Pain; since nothing else, but a Sense of one or other of these, seems capable of determining the *Will* to act. For if the Sensation of Pleasure or Pain be removed from the Will, there can be no Reason or Cause for it to prefer one Motion to another, and of consequence, no Direction or Determination.

XII. And hence may be deduced the following Observations: That to such a Being every thing may be called *Good*, that giveth Pleasure; and every thing *Evil*, that produceth Pain. The highest Pleasure, which any Being is capable of enjoying, may be called its *Happiness*; and the highest Pain, *Misery*. Now as the Use of all Pain is to determine our Motions, so that when we feel or fear Pain, we may be thereby excited to new Actions, for our own Preservation

servation and Delight; hence it appears, that *Evil* takes its *Origin* from the Goodness of God, in which it will also be finally absorbed, when Pain shall be no more. The Will cannot be at liberty to chuse Evil as Evil. But as Pain may be productive of Pleasure, or Pleasure be productive of Pain, hence it comes to pass, that free Agents, by being deceived, through their Ignorance, or Passions, may chuse Evil under the Appearance of Good; and herein consists human Freedom; not in the Power of chusing Evil, but in the Power of chusing what seems Good from among a Variety of *Good*, whether real or apparent: And herein lies the Difference between the Freedom of God and of Man; that as fallible Men may chuse an apparent Good, instead of a real one, they, by being liable to be deceived, are free, by that Means, to chuse Evil, instead of Good: Whereas God, who cannot be deceived, is only free to chuse out of that infinite Variety of real Good, which his Will and his Wisdom may dictate. — And lastly, That Virtue, Wisdom, Prudence, &c. in Mankind, may be considered only as various Names, for the several Powers given to them, and the different Methods

Methods used by them in the Attainment of Happiness, and avoiding of Misery. And hence also Self-Love may be looked upon, in Nature, as the Principle of all voluntary Action ; and the Foundation of all *Morality*.

XIII. We find, by Experience, that there are some voluntary self-moving Beings here upon Earth, which have but one or two Methods of furnishing their Minds with the Sense of Pleasure, or of Pain ; others have three ; others four ; others five ; which are commonly known by the Name of *Senses* ; to which rational Beings have one more added, which is that of inward Reflection. And therefore, the Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, speaking of the Formation of Mankind, says [8], *They received the Use of the five Operations of the Lord, and in the sixth Place he imparted to them Understanding.*

XIV. But, let their Number be never so various, they may, in general, be reduced to these two. First, those Methods of Information, which the Mind of any Being,

[8] *Ecclus* xvii. 5.

composed of Body and Spirit, is capable of being affected with, by the Intervention of the Senses; which furnish the Mind with such Ideas as may be called *Ideas of Sensation*, because they are conveyed to the Mind through the Organs of Sensation. Or, secondly, those Methods of Information, which the Spirit of any self-moving Agent is capable of being affected with, by its own reflex Acts upon itself; by the Means of which, the Mind is furnished with such Ideas, as may properly be called *Ideas of Reflexion*.

XV. And indeed it is in these reflex Acts of the human Spirit, that is, in the Power which the human Spirit is endowed with, first, in perceiving its own internal Operations in thinking; and, secondly, in being able to turn back its perceptive Faculty, to its past Perceptions, that the chief Difference seems to consist, between the Spirit of Man, and the Spirit of Brutes; or between the rational, and that which is commonly called the animal, Creation.

XVI. By the Assistance, however, of these two Faculties, that is, of *Sensation* and *Reflexion*,

flexion, the Spirit of Man is furnished with all those Ideas, which fill the human Mind; and supply it with Objects of *intellectual*, as well as *sensual* Pleasures. The latter of which it is, that strikes us soonest and strongest, as being most necessary for the immediate Use, and Preservation of Life. And accordingly, we find, that the human Mind requires a kind of Ripening, before it is capable of making any reflex Acts upon its own Operations, or having any Relish for intellectual Pleasures. Upon which Account it must be acknowledged to have been one great Advantage, which *Adam* had over all his Posterity, that his intellectual Faculties came with him into the World in their full Force; by which Means, he was free from that Bias in favour of sensual Pleasures, which all his Offspring have, ever since, necessarily, laboured under; by an Habit of being indulged in sensual Gratifications, from their Infancy, till they come to a Maturity of Judgment; during which whole Time, the human Will hath no Relish for any Pleasures, but such as enter in by the Senses.

XVII. The Spirit of Man, therefore, being furnished with Ideas by the Operation of the two Faculties of *Sensation* and *Reflexion*; when the Mind begins to operate a-new, its Operations are called by different Names, according to the different Use it makes of those Ideas. For when the Spirit retains any Ideas in View, and collates, or compares, them together, this Act of the Spirit is called *Thinking*. The Continuation of which Act is called *Attention*. When it deposites its Ideas in the Store-House, or Treasury, of the Mind, for future Recollection, and produces them back, upon Occasion, in the same Manner as they were deposited; this Act is called *Memory*: But when it varies, alters, and compounds them, so that they are not the same, as when deposited; this Act is called *Imagination*.

XVIII. When the Spirit, by collating and comparing Ideas together, finds out the Agreement, or Disagreement, of those Ideas; this Operation produceth *Knowledge*, and is, by the Logicians, called *Judgment*: But when the Spirit is mistaken in this Operation,

tion, and imagines Ideas to have an Agreement, which have no Agreement, and, *vice versa*, this Operation produceth *Error*.

XIX. When this Agreement, or Disagreement, of Ideas, strikes the Mind at once, without the Intervention of any third Idea, to prove their Agreement, or Disagreement with one another; this is *intuitive Knowledge*: Which is so called, from its Resemblance to the Information, which the Mind receives by the Sensation of Sight; because it perceives those Kinds of Truth, as the Eye does Light, only by being directed to them: The Objects of which are those Propositions, that are called *self-evident Truths*: Such as, that two and two make four; that the Whole is greater than a Part; that Happiness is preferable to Misery, &c. which the Mind cannot but assent to, as soon as it is made to understand the Meaning of those Terms, and which can no more be proved, or demonstrated, than simple Ideas can be defined; as being themselves the Foundation of all Knowledge and Demonstration.

XX. But when the Mind is employed in a more complicated Operation, that is, in comparing together those *Relations*, or this Knowledge which we have acquired of the Agreement, or Disagreement of our Ideas; or, which is the same thing, when the Mind, by comparing the Propositions, which result from the Agreement, or Disagreement, of our Ideas, from thence deduces certain *Conclusions*; this Operation of the Spirit, is called *Reasoning*.

The Necessity and Laboriousness of which Operation, in order to arrive at Truth, shews the Imperfection of human Nature; since we find, by Experience, that there is but a very small Part of Knowledge, which is so self-evident to us, as to be *intuitive*. Whereas Beings of a superior Nature, have, probably, their intuitive Knowledge enlarged, in proportion to the Excellency of their Natures: By which Means, those Degrees of Knowledge, which human Beings are groping after, by long and tedious Deductions of Reason, are open, at once, to the Eyes of their Understanding, and strike them, at once, with an intuitive
 4 View;

View ; which is always the more extensive, in proportion to the Excellency of their Natures.

XXI. And hence it is, that [9] *Plato*, speaking of human Abilities in the Investigation of Truth, calls it, *beholding Things in the Glass of Reason* : Which he explains, by saying, That as they who contemplate an Eclipse of the Sun, lose the Sight of it, unless they are so careful as to view its Reflexion in Water, or to look at it through some Medium, such as thick Glass ; so the Eye of an human Spirit is too weak to find out Truth, unless it looks at it through the Medium of Reason ; which *St. Paul* also calls [1] *seeing through a Glass darkly*.

XXII. We do indeed see through a Glass darkly, by the Means of this Tegument of Flesh ; this earthly Tabernacle, that encompasseth our Spirit : Since it is manifest, that the intelligent Spirit within Man is, in itself, endowed with Faculties, greatly superior to those Powers it exerciseth in the human Understanding ; and performs many

[9] *Plato* in *Phædo*.

[1] 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

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Operations within us, and upon us, that are not only above our Power to direct, but above our Understanding to comprehend. That Power, which is constantly working within us, to form and preserve the regular Disposition of our bodily Organs, and to change the Food which we eat, into Blood, into Flesh, and into Bones; and which, according to the Naturalists, is said always to work most powerfully, when the human Understanding is asleep, is manifestly above our Comprehension.

XXIII. It is a common Observation, that when the Belly is full, the Bones would be at rest; which seems entirely owing to this, that the Spirit, being unmolested with human Cogitations, and its Attendance upon our Will, may be more at leisure to pursue those Operations, which are immediately necessary towards our Preservation. For that it is the same wise Agent, which operates in the Digestion of our Food, and that enables us to put in Execution the Directions of our Will, appears from hence, that when we have a Mind to move a Finger, or a Leg, that Part of the human Understanding, which is under our Direction,

is

is capable of doing no more than the Power of willing it ; but how to perform this Action, it is as ignorant of as the Beast in the Field.

XXIV. Which Operation of the Spirit, is that which is known by the Name of *Instinct*, and goes through the whole Creation. It is by *Instinct* that the minuteſt Particles of Matter attract or repel each other : It is by *Instinct* that the Flower of the Field, which outdoes *Solomon* in all his Glory, is directed in throwing forth its Leaves and its Flowers, and forming its Fruit in due Season : It is by *Instinct* that the Birds of the Air build their Nests ; and the Beasts of the Field provide for themselves and their Young, with a Sagacity superior to the Directions of human Wisdom.

XXV. Whether the Spirits of all created Beings or even of all Beings of the same Species, are equally perfect, is a Question not very easy to determine ; because, though we find, by Experience, a vast Difference, between the Understandings of Men, not only with regard to their improved, but also their natural, Abilities ; yet this may arise, not from any Difference between the

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Spirits of Men, but from the different Formation of their bodily Organs ; which may have that Influence upon their Spirit, as sufficiently to account for the Difference of their Understandings : Since we frequently see bodily Distempers, such as Frenzies and Fevers, make such an Alteration in the Understanding, as to reduce Men, at other Times of good and sensible Dispositions, at least, to the Level, with Madmen and Idiots.

XXVI. And therefore we cannot be positive, but that all created Spirits, may only differ, according to the different Combinations of that material System, with which they are circumscribed, and in which they are enclosed, by the great Author of Nature. For, as Extension seems to be a Property peculiar to material Substance, it may be, that all created Spirits, do not only owe their Shape, and the Limits of their Existence, to Matter, but also ~~to~~ the Extent of those Faculties, which they are permitted to exert. And that the same Spirit, which, when cloathed with one Sett of material Organs, is only capable of exerting its Intelligence in the Performance of Attraction or
Re-

Repulsion, and when jarring Elements meet, breaks forth in Thunder and Lightning, and Earthquakes, or any other mechanical Operations, may, when united to a different Sett of Organs, of a more exquisite and delicate Contexture, be capable of exercising voluntary Motion, may be enabled to think and to reason, to operate in Love or Hatred, and, when provoked by Opposition, may be agitated with Anger and Resentment, and break forth in Quarrels, Contention, and War.

XXVII. What other Spirits there are in the Universe, beside those which belong to this terraqueous Globe, and how or when they came into Existence, human Understandings are not capable of pointing out: But more than probable it is, that the great Expanse is full of Spirits of different Ranks and Degrees, from the lowest Power of Activity to the highest Degree of Perfection, which it is possible for created Spirits to be possessed of.

XXVIII. To what Degree of Perfection Spirits are capable of being created, human Knowledge cannot possibly determine: But
certain

certain it is, that the Degree must be limited in every Being, but God alone; and that God cannot create or produce any Being, equal in Power to, or independent on, himself; because two All-powerfuls, two Supremes, would imply a Contradiction.

XXIX. We may, however, easily suppose, that God may communicate to the Works of his Hands, such Portions of his own Attributes, as are greatly beyond the Comprehension of Mankind to conceive: Because God can do every thing that does not imply a Contradiction. For, as a blind Man cannot apprehend how a Shepherd, from the Top of an Hill, can preside over several Flocks of Sheep, wandering about, at a Distance from each other; how he knows when they stray, or how, by the Help of his Eye-sight, he can be, as it were, omnipresent: So a Man of the greatest Abilities may, for Want of Faculties, be unable to conceive that Power, whereby a created intelligent Agent, of superior Qualifications to those communicated to Mankind, can be enabled to see in Darkness as well as Light; to know the inmost Recesses and Thoughts of Mens Hearts; to preside at
once

once over such a World as this which we inhabit, and where two or three are gathered together, there to be also invifible in the Midft of them: And yet fuch a Power may certainly be communicated, becaufe it implies no Contradiction.

XXX. In like Manner, therefore, as we fee Mankind furnifhed with Abilities to contrive and form feveral Machines of wonderful Force and Efficacy; to build Houfes and Ships, make Clocks and Watches; and govern Kingdoms: So there feems to be no Contradiction, in fupposing that God might communicate fo much Power to one of his own Creatures, of a more exalted Nature than Man, as to enable him to create inferior Beings, and frame a World of his own, compofed of intelligent Agents: Which Power, however muft be limited, and muft be dependent on the Supreme Being.

XXXI. And, as the Almighty God is the only fupreme, infinite, unlimited, Being in the Univerfe; fo is he, probably, the only unembodied Spirit that exifts: That is, the only Spirit which is not limited, clogged, and fettered, with fome Kind, or Degree, of in-

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inactive Matter, which may serve to give a Form and Shape, or Boundary, to its spiritual Nature. For [2] *there are Bodies celestial, and Bodies terrestrial; but the Glory of the celestial is one, and the Glory of the terrestrial is another.* And as we know not what the Effence of that inactive Principle is, which we call *Matter*, we cannot say, to what exquisite Degrees of Perfection its Properties are reducible, or what Improvement it is capable of receiving; but that some [3] Spirits may be furnished with Bodies of so delicate a Texture, that they may *cloath themselves with Light, as it were with a Garment, may make the Clouds their Chariots, and walk upon the Wings of the Wind:* By the organical Disposition of which Bodies, the Spirits united thereto may be capable of receiving and communicating to

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 40.

[3] Most of the ancient Fathers supposed the Angels to have Bodies. See Clemens Alex. *Pædag.* xli. p. 101. as also Huetii *Origeniana*, lib. ii. c. 2, 5. *Tertullian* was so absurd, as to suppose even God to have a Body, *Tert. de Carne Christi*, cap. 11. which I suppose he borrowed from the old *Platonic* Notion, of God being the Soul of the World. But this God, he ought to have considered, was not supposed to be the Supreme God. See *Plato* in *Timæo*: See also *Virg. Æneid.* lib. vi. 721.

each

each other Ideas of bodily Pain and bodily Pleasure, as well as intellectual Pain and intellectual Pleasure; may have their Affections and their Passions as well as we; their Friendships and Animosities; their Wars and Alliances; none of which, however, we can form any real Idea, or Notion of, for Want of the same Kind of Senses, which they are furnished with; any more than a deaf Man can of Sounds, or a blind Man can of Light and Colours.

XXXII. And, as to the Time when they were created, we are as ignorant of that, as we are of their Natures. But probable it is, that as God is an active Spirit, for *God is a Spirit*, and hath existed from all Eternity, he hath been constantly employed in exerting this active Faculty; and therefore may have created some intelligent Beings, from such a distant Duration of Time, as we can no otherwise describe but by calling it *eternal*. For to imagine that there are no Spirits in the wide Expanse of Space, but what have Reference to this terraqueous Globe, this Speck of Matter, on which Mankind are placed, or even this planetary System, which is visible to human Eyes; and

and that no Worlds, filled with intelligent Spirits, were created till about 6000 Years ago; about which Time, both Reason and Revelation agree, that this Ball of Earth began to revolve about the Sun, is a Thought unworthy of a Philosopher, and inconsistent with the Infinity of God's Power, as well as with the Eternity of his Existence.

XXXIII. And yet we ought to take Notice, that in the Language of the Scriptures, both in the Old and New Testament, when the *Creation* is spoken of, it is only to be considered as referring to the Creation of this World, of which there is no Mention made of the Creation of Angels, or of any other Beings, because it would have been foreign to the Purpose: And that therefore, St. *John* begins his Gospel with the same Expression that *Moses* does; *In the Beginning*, i. e. of this World. For when we speak of any Beings, which existed before this World was created, having no Measures of Time, whereby to denote, or distinguish the different Durations of their Existence, we must equally say of them all, that they existed [4] *in the Beginning*, or *before the*

[4] Gen. i. 1. John i. 1. xvii. 5. Psal. cii. 5. Prov. viii. 22, 23. Micah v. 2.

World was, or of old, or from Everlasting.
See Sect. L. LI. LII.

XXXIV. And as God may communicate what Proportions he pleases of his Attributes, to the different Gradations of created Beings, with which he hath been pleased to fill the Universe: Each of these, with regard to Beings of their own Species, may have such Faculties and Properties communicated to them, as may render them knowable to each other. But, with regard to Beings of a different Nature, those of a superior, or more excellent Kind, may not be cognisable, by Beings of an inferior Order; though Beings of an inferior Kind may be easily cognisable to those of a more exalted Nature; the Properties of the one being of too exquisite and delicate a Frame and Contexture, to affect the Perception or strike the Senses of the other. And hence it is, that human Beings may be surrounded with Myriads of spiritual Agents, without ever being sensible thereof; unless those superior Beings are pleased to assume such Forms, and condescend to furnish themselves with such Qualifications, as are capable of making an Impression on the human Spirit

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Spirit from within, or the human Senses from without.

XXXV. *Hesiod*, one of the first *Heathen* Authors extant, supposeth Myriads of invifible Spirits cloathed in Air, attending upon this terrestrial Globe, and employed as *Angels*, that is, *Messengers*, between the great God and Mankind, observing their Actions, And reporting them to *Jupiter*. And [5] *Plato* fays, that “ *Saturn* well knowing
 “ there was no Man who could have
 “ absolute Empire over others, without
 “ abandoning himfelf to all Kinds of Violence and Injuftice, fubjected the Nations
 “ not to Men, but to more noble and excellent Beings, as their Lords and Governors ; namely to [6] *Dæmons*, or intelligent Spirits, of a more divine and better Nature than themfelves, after the fame Manner, as we deal with our Cat-

[5] *Plato*, *de Leg.* lib. iv.

[6] Ἄλλα γένος θεοειδέος τε καὶ ἀμείνωνος, Δαίμονας. By the Word *Dæmon*, we are not to underftand *Evil-Spirits*, as it hath been vulgarly thought to mean ; but rather happy ones, the Word Δαίμων, *Dæmon*, originally fignifying happy. But as thofe Spirits to which the *Heathen* gave the Appellation of happy, have been deemed by *Chriftians* to be rather unhappy and evil Spirits ; therefore this Word is generally mifapplied.

tle :

“ tle : For, as we do not set a Bull over
 “ an whole Herd of his own Kind, nor a
 “ Goat to govern a Flock of Goats; but
 “ put those of both Kinds, under the Con-
 “ duct of a Man; so God, who loves
 “ Mankind, placed them, at first, under
 “ the Conduct of Angels.”

XXXVI. The [7] *Greeks*, it is certain, and *Plato*, in particular, borrowed many of their theological Sentiments from the *Hebrews*; among whom this, of a Number of invisible Spirits attending upon this Globe of Earth, and presiding over States and Kingdoms, was certainly one. For the Opinion of the *Jews* upon this Head was, that Almighty God, the first Author and Creator of all Things, was of so transcendent a Nature, that, before he created Beings of the lowest Rank, he produced an infinite Variety of Beings, in a gradual Descent, which were still greater and superior to others, who yet were employed by him to act in a middle Station, between him and the lower Productions of his Almighty Power. The Septuagint Translation of the Bible therefore renders that Passage in

[7] See Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* p. 507.

the Song of *Moses*, which is mentioned, *Deut.* xxxii. 8, 9. after this Manner: *Ask thy Father, and he will shew thee; thy Elders, and they will tell thee: When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance; When he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Angels of God, and the Lord's Portion is his People Jacob, the [8] Line of his Inheritance Israel.* And the wise Son of *Sirach* saith, [9] *For in the Division of the Nations of the whole Earth, God set a Ruler (or Governing Angel) over every People; but Israel is the Lord's Portion.* The *Jews* accordingly supposed some of these Angels to have been appointed as Guardian or Governing Spirits [1], over the several Nations of the Earth; and that the Portion of *Israel* was particularly committed to the Care of that Being, who is here denoted by the Name of *the Lord*.

[8] Or *Boundary*. See 1 *Cor.* x. 16.

[9] *Ecclus* xvii. 17.

[1] It appears also from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that this was the Opinion of the *Christian Church* in his Time. See *Clem. Alex. Strom.* p. 309, 822, 828, 830, 832. Edit. *Oxon. Pot.*

XXXVII. It ought to be acknowledged, however, that the Words here quoted out of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, as rendered by the Septuagint, do not exactly agree with the *Hebrew* Copy of the Bible. For, according to the *Hebrew*, it should run thus : *When the Most High divided the Nations, when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Children of Israel, and JEHOVAH'S Portion is his People : Jacob is the Lot of his Inheritance.* But it should be observed, that although this Separation, or Dispersion of the Sons of *Adam*, this settling the Bounds of the Nations, was a Transaction which came to pass long before *Israel* had any Children to number, or was even himself in Being ; yet the Commentators have taken much Pains to reconcile this Text with the Matter of Fact ; and to make the Number of the various Nations upon Earth, agree with the Number of the Children of *Israel* ; which, nevertheless, they have not been able to accomplish : For, if the Number of the Children of *Israel* be computed by the Number of his immediate Descendants, which were

only thirteen, *viz.* twelve Sons, and one Daughter; this Number would be too few for the Number of Nations dispersed over the Earth; and if all the Descendents of *Israel* be taken into the Account, then the Number will be infinitely too large. As therefore the reading of this Text according to the Septuagint Version, is supported by that Passage, already quoted, out of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, as well as by other Parts of the Old Testament; and corresponds with the general Opinion of the most learned ancient *Jews*: I am inclined to prefer the Septuagint Version of this Text, to the present Reading in our *Hebrew Bible*.

XXXVIII. And what adds no small Weight with me in this Affair, is an Expression made use of by [2] St. *Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, where, speaking of the second coming of our Saviour, when he shall appear in a State of Glory, manifestly superior to Angels, he says, *For unto the Angels hath he not put in Subjection the World to come of which we speak.* Whence it seems to appear, that it was St. *Paul's*

[2] Heb. ii. 5.

Opinion, that this present World had been put in Subjection to Angels.

XXXIX. Which Opinion is also confirmed by St. *Jude*, who seems to attribute the Error of the fallen Angels, who *sinned*, as (3) St. *Peter* expresseth it, to their Misconduct in the Government of those Provinces which were allotted to their Charge. For, says he, Ἀγγέλους τε τὰς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας, δεσμοῖς αἰδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν. *The Angels which kept not their Principalities with due Care; but neglected their proper Provinces, he (God) hath reserved in everlasting Chains under Darknes*: For so this Verse ought to be translated. The Verb τηρέω, which we translate *kept*, signifying the keeping of a Thing with Care and Diligence: In which Sense it is used, when it is applied in the Septuagint to the (4) keeping the Commandments of God, and keeping our own Hearts, and our Ways. And in *Canticles* vii. 11, 12. it is used to denote the *Keepers* of a Vineyard, who

[3] 2 Pet. ii. 4.

[4] 1 Sam. xv. 11. Prov. iii. 1. 21. iv. 23. viii. 34.

were to dress it, and cultivate it. And, as to the Word Ἀρχή, that is generally used by the Septuagint to denote a *Principality*, as the word is rendered in the Margin of our *English Bible*. And it is to be observed, that it is the Word Ἀρχων and Ἀρχοντες, which *Daniel* gives to those ruling Angels, which are said, in the Book of [5] *Daniel*, to preside over the Realms of *Græcia*, *Persia*, and *Israel*. The Word ἀπολείπω, which our Translation renders *left*, is frequently applied by the Septuagint, to denote the leaving or neglecting any Business, which it was our Duty to have pursued; as when [6] *Baasha* is said to have *left off building Ramah, and let his Work cease*; and when *Solomon* blameth the [7] *strange Woman*, for FORSAKING the Guide of her Youth. The Word οἰκητήριον, though it properly signifies a *Dwelling-place*, in general, yet it is not confined to signify a House, nor even a Province, or larger Space of Ground; but is by the Prophet [8] *Jeremiah* applied to denote the wide Extent of God's holy Habitation in Heaven: However, it is here restrained by the Word ἴδιον, to

[5] Dan. x. 13, 20, 21. xii. 1. [6] 2 Chron. xvi. 5.
[7] Prov. ii. 17. [8] Jer. xxv. 30.

denote the proper and peculiar Provinces of these Angels, which they may be supposed to have been employed in the Conduct and Management of; and accordingly, the Word οἰκέτης denotes such a Domestick as is employed in the Business of the House, and is always used by the Septuagint to signify a [9] *Servant*. And therefore, this Expression of Ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, may very well be understood to signify their forsaking, or neglecting, their proper Business, or Provinces, that were given into their Charge by God.

XL. As for the Opinion of the more modern *Jews*, it is no easy Matter to collect or fix their Sentiments; because that, since the coming of our Saviour, the *Jews*, not being willing to abide by the Expositions given to the Prophecies in the Old Testament, by the *Christians*, or even by their own ancient Paraphrasts, made a Collection of their oral Traditions, which they gathered together into one Book, which they called the *Talmud*: And finding many seeming Contradictions in the literal Interpretation of those Texts of Scripture, which

[9] Gen. ix. 25. xxvii. 37. xliv. 33, &c.

were universally allowed by the ancient *Jews* to refer to their Messiah; and not being willing to expound them of different Advents of one and the same Person; the one in a State of Humiliation, and the other in a State of Glory; the one in this World, and the other in the next; they then ran into numberless absurd Contrivances, of expounding the Scriptures by a cabalistical Method of Interpretation, in finding out mysterious and hidden Meanings, not only in the Sentences and Words of Scripture, but also in the very Letters themselves, as well as in the Number of Letters, of which those Words were composed: And, by this Means, the Learning of the more modern *Jews* is reduced into such a nonsensical Jargon of Sounds, without Sense, as makes their Works infinitely tiresome in the Perusal. And therefore, rather than fatigue my Reader with an Account of such Trifles, I shall chuse to lay before him the Opinion of the most sensible and learned among the ancient *Jews*, as I find it collected very judiciously, by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, who must be allowed to be a tolerable Judge, because he lived amongst them in the Land of *Judæa*.

XL. [1] “ The *Jews*, says he, after
 “ that Essence of the All-powerful God,
 “ who had neither Beginning nor Origin,
 “ place that [2] *Head* or *Chief*, which was
 “ begotten of the Father, and therefore
 “ was his First-born. Which, as he is
 “ the Co-adjutor of his Council, is there-
 “ fore called the Image of his Father.
 “ Which *Chief*, as he far exceeds all crea-
 “ ted Beings, is for this Reason called *the*
 “ *Image of God*, the *Wisdom of God*, the
 “ *Logos*, or *Word of God*, the *Prince of*
 “ *the Lord's Host*, and the *Angel of his*
 “ *Council*. As to those Intelligences, which
 “ come after this *Chief*, they are of such
 “ various and different Forms, that human
 “ Expressions cannot denote them, but by
 “ Comparison and Analogy to those Things
 “ which are the Objects of our Senses;
 “ as the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and
 “ the Heaven, which encloseth all Things.
 “ As the divine Apostle does, when he says,

[1] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 15.

[2] Ἀρχὴ, which Word is sometimes used by the Authors of the Septuagint Version of the Bible, instead of Ἀρχων, to denote the *Head*, or *Chief*, of any Society, or collective Body of Men. See *Exod.* vi. 25.

“ There

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“ *There is one Glory of the Sun, and another*
 “ *Glory of the Moon, and another Glory of*
 “ *the Stars, for one Star differeth from ano-*
 “ *ther Star in Glory.* In like Manner,
 “ must we think of the Subordination of
 “ unbodied, intelligent, Beings. For, as
 “ the ineffable and infinite Power of God
 “ (*like Heaven*) comprehends all Things ;
 “ in the second Place comes the operating
 “ and illuminating Power of the divine
 “ *Logos* ; for which Reason he is called by
 “ the *Hebrews*, the *Light*, and the [3] *Sun*
 “ *of Justice* : Then, after this [4] second
 “ Essence, as it were in the Place of the
 “ *Moon*, comes the *Holy Spirit*, which they
 “ place in this royal Dignity, and Degree of
 “ [5] *Principality* ; because it is the Will of
 “ the great Architect to appoint him to the
 “ the Principality of those inferior Beings,
 “ which may want his Assistance. Who
 “ therefore, obtaining the third Place,
 “ confers on those who are inferior to him,
 “ those excellent Virtues, which he himself
 “ received from another, to wit, from the
 “ divine *Logos*, his Better and Superior ;

[3] Mal. iv. 2. Which *Philo Judæus* interprets of the
Messiah. [4] Δευτέρα ἑστία. [5] Ἀρχὴς.

whom

“ whom we before said was the second to
 “ the supreme, unbegotten, and almighty,
 “ God.—So, says he, all the *Hebrew* Divines,
 “ after that God, who is over all, and after
 “ his first-born Wisdom, pay [6] divine
 “ Worship to the third and holy Power,
 “ which they call the Holy Spirit, by which
 “ they themselves are illuminated, when
 “ they are divinely inspired.”

XLII. In another Place, [7] *Eusebius*,
 in explaining the Sentiments of the *Jews*,
 says, that, “ as *Milesius* made a second
 “ Principle of *Water*; *Heraclitus* of *Fire*;
 “ and *Pythagoras* of *Numbers*, &c; so the
 “ *Jews* made a second Essence of the *Lo-*
 “ gos, which was begotten by the *First*
 “ Cause.”

XLII. And in another Place, [8] *Eusebius*
 quotes a Passage of *Philo Judæus*,
 wherein that Author calls the *Logos*, the
 [9] *Second God*, in whose Image Man was
 created. And again, where he calls this

[6] Αποδείκνυσιν. [7] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap.
 12. [8] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 13. [9] Δεύ-
 τερον θεόν.

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Logos, The first-born Son of God, to whom God had committed the Care of all Things, [1] *as a great King appoints a Minister, or Viceroy, to act under him.*

XLIV. And, in another Place, [2] he quotes *Philo*, for calling this *Second Cause* the Image of God, the first-born *Logos*, the most antient of Angels, and, as it were, the Archangel, subsisting with many Names. For says *Philo*, He is called the [3] Chief, the Name of God, the *Logos*, the Image, and the [4] Overseer, Visiter, or Regarder of Israel.

XLV. I am very sensible, that some learned Men are of Opinion, that these were only the Sentiments of the *Jews* belonging to *Palestine* and *Egypt*; but if we look into those Books, which contain the Doctrines, which all *Jews* either do, or ought to profess, that is, the Scriptures of the Old Testament, we shall find that there is great Foundation for the afore-mentioned Opinions of the *Jews*, with regard to Angels;

[1] Οἷα τις μεγάλη βασιλείας ὑπαρχος διαδέχεται.

[2] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. xi. cap. 15. Περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου αἰτίου. [3] Ἀρχὴ. [4] Ὁ ὁρῶν Ἰσραὴλ.

and

and for all these Appellations, which are here given to this *secondary Essence*, who is, by *Philo*, very justly called *the Archangel with many Names*. For the Prophet [5] *Daniel* declares, that the Angel *Gabriel*, having touched him, and spoken to him, said, that he was *come to make him understand what should befall his People in the latter Days*, and that he would have come sooner, but that [6] *the Prince* (or *ruling or governing Angel*) of the Kingdom of Persia withstood him one and twenty Days, till Michael, one of the chief Princes, or, as the Hebrew expresseth it, the FIRST PRINCE, came to help him. And again, the Angel says, *And now I will return to fight against the Prince of Persia, and when I am gone forth, lo the Prince of Græcia shall come. But I will shew thee what is noted in the Scripture of Truth; and there is none that holdeth with me in these Things, but MICHAEL your Prince*. And a little afterwards he calleth MICHAEL the great Prince which standeth for the Children of Israel. Or, as *Philo*

[5] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21. x. 13. 20, 21. xii. 1.

[6] Heb. מַלְאָכִים. Sept. Ἀρχαῖ. *Simmias*, the Disciple of *Socrates*, in *Plato's Phædo*, speaking of Guardian Angels, calls them Δεσπόταις, i. e. *Lords*, or *Governors*.

would

would have expressed it, ὁ ὄρων Ἰσραὴλ : *He that regardeth, or is the Guardian Angel of, Israel.*

XLVI. And correspondent hereto the Septuagint Translation of the Bible, as before quoted, renders that Passage in the Song of *Moses*, which is mentioned, *Deut. xxxii. 8, 9. Ask thy Father, and he will shew thee ; thy Elders, and they will tell thee : When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance ; when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Angels of God, and the LORD's Portion is his People Jacob, the Line of his Inheritance Israel.* Upon which Words *Eusebius* has this Remark. [7] “ By the Words *the Most High*, *Moses* denotes the Father, who is “ God over all ; and by *the Lord*, he means “ the *Logos*, who is called *Lord*, as being, “ with regard to us, next to that God who “ is over all. But, says he, all Nations “ whom he calls the Sons of *Adam*, were, “ for Reasons to us unsearchable, distribu- “ ted according to the Will of the Most “ High, to Governing and Guardian An-

[7] *Euseb. Dem. Evang. lib. iv. cap. 7.*

“ gels, who elude our Sight. But to the
 “ most eminent Governor, Ruler, and King
 “ of all, as to his only Son, he allots the
 “ Government of *Jacob*, or *Israel*.” And
 in this Interpretation he is supported by *Cle-*
mens Alexandrinus, who says positively, that
 [8] *Angels were appointed by God to preside*
over Nations and Cities: That [9] *they*
are his Ministers in the Government of ter-
restrial Affairs; and, [1] in particular, that
they were by his Command distributed among
the Nations, &c.

XLVII. Whence it is manifest, that, ac-
 cording to the Scriptures of the Old Testa-
 ment, Angels were appointed to preside
 over People and Nations upon Earth, and
 that one Angel, in particular, who is called,
 by *Moses* [2], *Jehovah*, and by the Septua-
 gint is translated *the Lord*, had *Israel* assign-
 ed to him by the *Most High*, as the Portion
 of his Inheritance; and therefore may very
 reasonably be supposed to be the same Person
 with that *First Prince*, mentioned by *Daniel*,

[8] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. vi. p. 822. Edit. Pot.

[9] Id. *ibid.* lib. vii. p. 839. [1] Id. *ibid.* p. 832.

[2] See Sect. xxxvii.

whom

whom he also calleth MICHAEL, *the great Prince which standeth for the Children of Israel*; and with that Archangel with many Names, whom *Philo* calls *the Regarder of Israel*.

XLVIII. And what is remarkable, is this, that this Name of *Michael*, which is given by *Daniel* to this Archangel, literally signifies [3] *who is like God*; and accordingly *Philo* observes, that one of the Names belonging to this Archangel was *the Image of God*. Which Image [4] he calleth the *Logos* and *the second God*, and supposed Man to have been made in the Image of this Image; Because, says he, “nothing
“ mortal can be formed in the Image of
“ the Supreme God, the Father of all
“ Things.”

XLIX. Which *Logos*, or *Word* of God, is, in the *Book of Wisdom*, manifestly spoken of, as the Guardian Angel of *Israel*; where the Author of that elegant Work, in

[3] The Word *Michael*, being derived from the three Hebrew Words, *Mi*, which signifies *who*; *Cha*, which signifies *so, or like, or the same*; and *El*, which signifies *God*.

[4] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 13.

describing

describing the [5] Angel, who was sent to rescue them from their *Egyptian* Bondage, by destroying the First-born of the *Egyptians*, says: For [6] *while all Things were in quiet Silence, and that Night was in the Midst of her swift Course, thine Almighty Word leapt down from Heaven, out of thy royal Throne, as a fierce Man of War into the Midst of a Land of Destruction, and brought thy unfeigned Commandment, as a sharp Sword, and standing up, filled all Things with Death, and it touched the Heaven, but it stood upon the Earth.* And therefore also the *Jerusalem Targum* on *Exod.* xii. 23. where it is said in the *Hebrew*, *And JEHOVAH will pass through to smite the Egyptians*, paraphrases it by saying, *And the WORD OF JEHOVAH shall pass through to smite the Egyptians.* Which Expression of *Memra Jehovah*, or *Word of Jehovah*, is so favourite an Expression, among all the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts on the *Old Testament*, that, where the original Expression in the *Hebrew* says, *Jehovah* did such or such a Thing, they commonly paraphrase it, by attributing those Operations to

[5] *Exod.* xxiii. 21. [6] *Wisd.* xviii. 13—16.

the *Memra*, that is, the *Logos*, or *Word* of Jehovah. Instances of which it would be endless to produce.

L. And as this Angel, whose Portion is *Israel*, is called the *Word* of God, because God employeth him to carry his Word; so is he also, by the same Figure of Rhetoric, called *the Wisdom of God*; because he is employed by God to execute the Purposes of his Wisdom. For thus the wise Son of *Sirach*, when speaking of this Guardian Angel of *Israel*, by the Name of *Wisdom*, says [7], *I came out of the Mouth of the High, and covered the Earth as a Cloud. I dwelt in high Places, and my Throne is in a cloudy Pillar. So the Creator of all Things gave me a Commandment; and he that MADE me caused me to rest, and said, Let thy Dwelling be in Jacob, and thine Inheritance in Israel. He CREATED me from the Beginning, before the World, and I shall never fail. In the holy Tabernacle I served him; and so was I established in Sion. Likewise in the beloved City he gave me Rest, and in Jerusalem was my Power. And I took Root in an honou-*

[7] *Ecclus.* xxiv. 1—12.

able People, even in the Portion of the Lord's Inheritance. I therefore being ETERNAL, am given to all my Children which are named of him, i. e. I am sent to the Children of Israel, who are God's peculiar People, and are so named of him. See Lev. xxvi. 12. Micah iv. 5.

LI. Where it is to be observed, that this Being is spoken of, *as coming out of the Mouth of the Most High, made and created*; which must be understood in the same Sense with those Words of Moses, when he describes the Creation of *Light*: *And God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light, Gen. i. 3.* It is likewise to be observed, that this Guardian Angel of *Israel*, whose *Throne* was in *the cloudy Pillar, &c.* is here declared to have been a *created* Being, in Terms as strong and plain as it is in the Power of Language to express. It may also further be remarked, that although he is positively said to have been *made and created*, yet because he was spoken into Existence before the Sun and the Moon, those Measures of Duration, which were given Mankind, [8] *for Signs and for Seasons, and*

[8] Gen. i. 14.

for Days and for Years ; because he was in the Beginning, before the World, he styles himself eternal. See Sect. xxxiii.

LII. And in the same Kind of Style it is that *Solomon*, speaking of this same Being under the Denomination of *Wisdom*, represents it as a separate intelligent Agent, personally subsisting with God *from Everlasting*, because it was *brought forth* before the Creation of this World. For thus, speaking in the Person, and under the Character of *Wisdom*, he saith [9], *Jehovah [1] possessed me in the Beginning of his Ways, before his Works of old. I was set up from Everlasting, from the Beginning, or ever the Earth was. When there were no Depths, I was BROUGHT FORTH ; when there were no Fountains abounding with Water. Before the Mountains were settled ; before the Hills was I BROUGHT FORTH : While as yet he had not made the Earth, nor the Fields, nor the highest Parts of the Dust of the World. When he prepared the Heavens, I was there : When he set a Compass upon the Face of the Deep : When he gave to the Sea his Decree, that the Wa-*

[9] Prov. viii. 22.
Lord created me.

[1] In the Septuagint it is, *The*

ter should not pass his Commandment: When he appointed the Foundations of the Earth; then I was by him as one brought up with him: And I was always his Delight, rejoicing always before him.

LIII. But *Philo Judæus* further observes, that this Archangel with many Names, whose Portion was *Israel*, was also called by *the Name of God*. Now let us see what Foundation there is for this in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. The Name of God, which the *Jews* never pronounced, but called it the ineffable Name, was *Jehovah*; so that, whenever in reading the Bible, they met with this Word, instead thereof, they always said *Adonai* or *Elohim*; and the Authors of the Septuagint Translation of the Bible, who were *Jews*, when they rendered it into *Greek*, always translated it by the Word *Κύριος*, which we in *English* render *the Lord*. Which is the Reason also why *Philo* does not mention that Name of God by which this Archangel was denominated, but says only, in general, that he was called by *the Name of God*. Now the Instances in the Old Testament, where an Angel, and in particular, that

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Angel which acted as a Guardian Angel to the Seed of *Abraham*, and presided over the Children of *Israel*, is called *Jehovah*, are very numerous.

LIV. Thus, when *Hagar* fled from the Face of her Mistress, it is said, that *an Angel of Jehovah found her in the Wilderness, and the Angel of Jehovah said unto her, Return to thy Mistress.* Now, though *Moses* in this Place calls the Person who spake to *Hagar* an Angel of *Jehovah*, yet *Moses* afterwards mentions this same Person under the direct Name of *Jehovah*: For, says he, [2] *Hagar called the Name of JEHOVAH that spake to her, Thou God seest me.*

LV. Thus also it is said of *Abraham*, that [3] *JEHOVAH appeared unto him in the Plains of Mamre; and he sat at the Tent-door in the Heat of the Day; and he lift up his Eyes and looked, and lo, three Men stood by him.* Now that two of the Persons which are here called Men, because they appeared as such, had each of them the Appellation of *Jehovah* given them, will ap-

[2] Gen. xvi. 7—13. [3] Gen. xviii. 1, &c.

pear from the Context: For when one of these Men enquired for *Sarah*, and said, *Lo! Sarah thy Wife shall have a Son*; upon which *Sarah* laughed within herself: Then it is positively said, that *JEHOVAH* said unto Abraham, *Why did Sarah laugh? Is any thing too hard for Jehovah?* And yet it is said, after all this, that *the Men rose up from thence, and looked towards Sodom; and Abraham went with them to bring them on the Way: And JEHOVAH said, Shall I hide from Abraham that Thing which I do?* And when *two of the Men* had turned their Faces from thence, and went towards *Sodom*; it is said, Abraham stood yet before Jehovah. And when Abraham was pleading in Favour of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, he said, among other Things, to this *Jehovah* with whom he was conversing, *Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* And when the Discourse was ended, *Moses* says, that *JEHOVAH went his Way, as soon as he had left communing with Abraham, and Abraham returned to his Place.* Whence it is manifest beyond all Doubt, that one of these three Men who was left alone in Conversation with *Abraham*, is called *Jehovah*, and *the Judge of all the Earth.*

LVI. And when the two Men, which had left *Abraham* and *Jehovah* conversing together, came to *Sodom*, it is said, [4] *And there came two ANGELS to Sodom at Even. And when the Morning arose, then the ANGELS hastened Lot. And he said, that is, one of the Angels said, Escape for thy Life ; for I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. And the Sun was risen upon the Earth, when Lot entered into Zoar. Then JEHOVAH rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah Brimstone and Fire from JEHOVAH out of Heaven.* Whence it is plain, that one of these two Angels is here also dignified with the Appellation of *Jehovah*, and yet is represented as acting under the Influence of another *Jehovah* in Heaven. So that it is manifest, here are two distinct Persons, or Angels, which appeared upon Earth, to each of which is given the Appellation of *Jehovah*.

LVII. Again, when *Jacob* lived with his Father *Laban*, and was giving an Account to his Wives of their Father's Conduct and

[4] Gen. xix. 1, &c.

Behaviour towards him, he says, [5] *And the Angel of God spake to me in a Dream, saying, Jacob ; and I said, Here am I; and he said, I am the God of Bethel, where thou anointedst the Pillar, and vowed a Vow unto me.* Now the Vow which Jacob made at Bethel was this: [6] *If God be with me, and will keep me in this Way, that I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on ; so that I come again to my Father's House in Peace : Then shall JEHOVAH be my God.* Whence it is plain, that an Angel of God, speaking to Jacob, calls himself [7] *Jehovah the God of Bethel.*

LVIII. Thus also we find it said, that [8] *the ANGEL OF JEHOVAH appeared unto Moses, in a Flame of Fire out of the Bush. And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great Sight, why the Bush is not burnt. And when JEHOVAH saw that he had turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the Midst of the Bush. Moreover, he said, I am the God of thy Fathers, the*

[5] Gen. xxiv. 47. xxxi. 11, 13. [6] Gen. xxviii. 20, 21.

[7] See also Gen. xxxii. 24, &c. and compare it with Hosea xii. 4, 5. [8] Exod. iii. 2, 6. Acts vii. 30, 35.

God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his Face; for he was afraid to look upon God. Where it is manifest, that an Angel is called by Moses, Jehovah; and that the Angel calls himself, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

TIX. Thus also, when the Children of Israel were marching towards the Red-Sea, it is said, that [9] *the ANGEL of God, which went before the Camp of Israel, removed and went behind them, and the Pillar of the Cloud went from before their Face, and stood behind them.* And yet, in another Place, it is said, that [1] *JEHOVAH went before them by Day in a Pillar of a Cloud, to lead them the Way; and by Night in a Pillar of Fire, to give them Light.*

LX. It is also said, when Moses went up to Mount Sinai, that [2] *JEHOVAH called unto him out of the Mountain.* And again, that Moses came and called for the Elders of the People, and laid before their Faces all these Words which JEHOVAH commanded him.

[9] Exod. xiv. 19. [1] Exod. xiii. 21. [2] Exod. xix. 3, &c.

And that Moses *returned all the Words of the People of Israel unto* JEHOVAH: That JEHOVAH *said again unto Moses, Go unto the People, and sanctify them To-day and To-morrow, and be ready against the third Day: For the third Day JEHOVAH will come down, in the Sight of all the People, upon Mount Sinai. And the third Day Mount Sinai was altogether on a Smoke, because JEHOVAH descended upon it in Fire. — And JEHOVAH came down upon Mount Sinai. — And JEHOVAH called up Moses unto the Top of the Mount. And God spake all these Words, saying, I am JEHOVAH thy God, which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, &c. And yet St. Stephen, who was a Jew, affirms, that [3] the Law was given by the Disposition of ANGELS: And that it was an ANGEL that spake to Moses from Mount Sinai, and with our Fathers, who received the lively Oracles to give unto us. And St. Paul says, [4] that the Law was ordained of ANGELS. And, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, he calls it [5] the Word spoken of ANGELS.*

[2] Acts vii. 33, 38. [4] Gal. iii. 9. [5] Heb. ii. 2.

LXI. It is likewise to be observed, that, when [6] *Moses* and *Aaron*, and *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and seventy of the Elders of *Israel*, went up into the Mount, by the Command of God, it is said, *They saw the God of Israel*; — *also they saw God, and did eat and drink*: That is, they saw the God of *Israel*, and did live to eat and drink. Whereas, when *Moses* afterwards applied to God, and begged it of him, as a Favour, that he might see his Glory, or Face, that he might know him; [7] *JEHOVAH* said unto him, *Thou canst not see my Face; for there shall no Man see me, and live*. But, says he to *Moses*, *I will make all my Goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the Name of JEHOVAH before thee*: And it shall come to pass, while my Glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a Cleft of the Rock, and will cover thee with my Hand while I pass by: And I will take away mine Hand, and thou shalt see what [8]

[6] *Exod. xxiv. 10, &c.* [7] *Exod. xxxiii. 20, &c.*

[8] The Original, which in our Translation, we render *Back-Parts*, properly signifies any Thing or Person that is behind or followeth another. In which Sense it is used *Gen. xviii. 10*. When *Moses* saith, *And Sarah heard it in the*

follows

follows me; but my Face shall not be seen. And accordingly when *Moses* returned to the Mount it is said, that *JEHOVAH* descended in the Cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the Name of *JEHOVAH*. And *JEHOVAH* passed by before him, and proclaimed *JEHOVAH*, *JEHOVAH* God, merciful and gracious, &c. And *Moses* made haste, and bowed his Head and worshiped.

LXII. Whence it is manifest, that this *Jehovah*, whom *Moses* made haste to worship, could not be that *Jehovah*, whose Face could not be seen, whom no Man could see and live; but the *Jehovah* who followed the invisible *Jehovah*, and was probably the same Person with that God of *Israel*, who was seen by *Moses* and *Aaron*, and *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and the Seventy Elders of *Israel*: And who is called by God in another Place, *the Similitude*, or Image, of *Jehovah*. For, says *Jehovah* unto the

Tent-door, which was BEHIND him. So also, *Joshua* vi. 13. *And the Rearward followed AFTER the Ark.* So also, 2 *Sam.* x. 9. *When Joab saw that the Front of the Battle was against him before and BEHIND.* See also 2 *Chron.* xiii. 14, &c. &c.

People

People of *Israel*, with my *Servant Moses* will I speak Mouth to Mouth; and [9] the *Similitude of Jehovah* shall be behold.

LVIII. Now this *Jehovah*, or this *Similitude*, *Image*, or *Representative of Jehovah*, which *Moses* beheld, is manifestly the same Person with that *Guardian Angel of Israel*, who had so often appeared already, and spoken to *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, in the Name and Person of *Jehovah*; because it was on this very Account that *Moses* desired of God to shew him his Glory, that he might know the Person who was to conduct the *Israelites* into the promised Land. For thus it is, that *Moses* introduceth his Request: [1] *And Moses said unto JEHOVAH, See thou sayest unto me, bring up this People: And thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me.—Now therefore I pray thee, if I have found Grace in thy Sight, shew me now* [2] *THY WAY;*

[9] Numb. xii. 7, 8. [1] Exod. xxxiii. 12, &c.

[2] The original Word אני is used in a great Variety of Senses in the Old Testament; the Septuagint Version renders it in this Place εαυτοῦ, *thyself*. And in the same Sense it probably is, that *David*, praying to *Jehovah*, says, *God be merciful unto us, and bless us; and cause thy Face to shine*

that

that I may know thee: And consider that this Nation is thy People. And JEHOVAH said, I will do this Thing that thou hast spoken, &c. And he said, thou canst not see my Face; for there shall no Man see my Face and live. But it shall come to pass, while my Glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a Cleft of the Rock; and will cover thee with mine Hand, while I pass by; and I will take away mine Hand, and thou shalt see what followeth me: But my Face shall not be seen, &c.

LXIV. So that this Being which followeth *Jehovah*, this *Way*, this *Glory* of *Jehovah*, whom the invisible *Jehovah* proclaimed to be *Jehovah* as well as himself, is manifestly that Angel, who was appointed by God to conduct the *Israelites* into the promised Land. And therefore God saith to *Moses*, in another Place, [3] *Behold I send an Angel before thee to keep thee in the Way,*

upon us: That THY WAY (or Thou) may be known upon Earth, thy saving Health among all Nations, Psal. lxxvii. 2. And in Psal. lxxvii. 13. He says, THY WAY, O God, (or Thou) is in the Sanctuary. And hence probably it is, that the Prophet Amos calls the God or Idol of Beersheba, the Way of Beersheba, Am. viii. 14.

[3] *Exod. xxiii. 20, 21.*

and

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and to bring thee into the Place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your Transgressions; FOR MY NAME IS IN HIM. That is, behold I send an Angel before thee acting in my Stead, and by my Authority; beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not, for *I have proclaimed him Jehovah*; and, as he acts by my Authority, and my Power is delegated unto him, as my *Similitude*, Image, or Representative, he will not pardon your Transgressions, for my Name of *Jehovah* is in him.

LXV. And hence it comes to pass, that this Second *Jehovah* is in a particular Manner distinguished by the Appellation of the *God of Israel*, the *Jehovah of Zion*, and the *Jehovah of the Jews*. For thus the Prophet *Hosea*, speaking by Authority from God the great *Jehovah* saith, [4] *But I will have Mercy on the House of Judah, and will save them by JEHOVAH THEIR GOD.* And *Zechariah* the Prophet, speaking of the same People,

[4] Hof. i. 7.

saith,

saith, [5] *I will strengthen them in JEHOVAH, and they shall walk up and down IN HIS NAME, saith Jehovah.* Not in my Name, but in his Name, saith the invisible *Jehovah*; that is, in the Name of *the God of Israel*, whom they had seen. And, in another Place, the same Prophet saith, [6] *Sing and rejoice, O Daughters of Zion; for, lo, I come, and I will dwell in the Midst of thee, saith JEHOVAH: And many Nations shall be joined to JEHOVAH in that Day, and shall be my People: And I will dwell in the Midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the JEHOVAH OF HOSTS hath sent me unto thee.* Where the *Jehovah of Zion* is plainly distinguished from the *Jehovah of Hosts*, and acknowledgeth himself to be sent by him.

LXVI. The only Difficulty in this Case is this, that the *Jehovah of Zion*, though in this one Place he acknowledgeth himself to be sent by the *Jehovah of Hosts*, yet in other Places this *Jehovah of Zion*, or the Angel which appeared unto *Abraham*, and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, does not always de-

[5] Zech. x. 12.

[6] Zech. ii. 10, 11.

clare that he is deputed, and speaks by the delegated Authority of the *Jehovah* of Hosts ; which is the general Meaning of the Phrase of speaking *in the Name* of any one ; but actually and literally speaks in his own Name, and calls himself *Jehovah*, and saith, *I am the God of Abraham* ; and *I am the God of Bethel* ; and *I brought thee out of the Land of Egypt*, &c. and positively prohibits *Moses* and the Children of *Israel* from worshiping any other God but himself : *Thou*, says he, *shalt have none other Gods before me*. Thereby seeming to forbid even the Worship of the Supreme *Jehovah*, the *Jehovah of Hosts*.

LXVII. In Answer to which it is to be observed, that the *Hebrews* were far from being explicit and accurate in their Style, but left great Room for the [7] Imagination of the Reader to supply, and fill up the Deficiencies ; and that it was very customary for one Person to speak in the Name

[7] Any one that does but open the *English Bible*, and observe the Number of Words that are inserted in *Italick Characters*, none of which are in the Original, will immediately perceive the Truth of this Assertion.

and

and Character of another Person, without making the least Mention of the other Person, in whose Name the Words were spoken. Thus it is allowed by the universal Consent of all Antiquity, as well *Jews* as *Christians*, that, in the second Psalm, *David* is there speaking of the *Messiah*, and yet the whole Psalm is delivered in the Person and Character of *David* himself. *Why*, says he, *do the Heathen rage, and the People imagine a vain Thing? The Kings of the Earth set themselves, and the Rulers take Counsel together against JEHOVAH, and against his anointed. He that sitteth in Heaven shall laugh; JEHOVAH shall have them in Derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his Wrath, and vex them in his sore Displeasure. Yet have I set my King upon my holy Hill of Sion. I will declare the Decree JEHOVAH hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the uttermost Parts of the Earth for thy Possession.*

LXVIII. Now it is plain, that the Decree here spoken of, though it was deliver-

ed unto *David*, yet the Purport thereof was not promised to *David*, but to some one of the Seed of *David*, 2 *Sam.* vii. 12, 14, 16. of whom God said, *I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son.* And yet *David* saith, when speaking of this Decree, *I will declare the Decree* JEHOVAH *bath said unto ME, THOU art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee.* And what is further remarkable is, that it was not *Jehovah*, but *Nathan* the Prophet, who spake to *David* by Authority from God.

LXIX. And indeed nothing is more common than for Prophets and Angels to speak authoritatively in their own Name, without introducing their Speech with an explanatory Preface, mentioning the Person in whose Name they speak. Thus the Prophet *Isaiah* saith, [8] *The Word that Isaiah the Son of Amos saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem — [9] For behold the Lord, the JEHOVAH OF HOSTS doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah the Stay and the Staff, &c. —* And then some Verses after-

[8] *Isai.* ii. 1.[9] *Isai.* iii. 1—4.

wards,

wards, he saith, *And I will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes shall rule over them, &c.* Where it is manifest, that the Prophet speaks in this last Place in the first Person, in his own Name, without inserting the Words, *and JEHOVAH said unto me*, which seem necessary to have been inserted, in order to make his Words intelligible, if he intended they should be understood of *Jehovah*, and not of himself; but that he knew very well the *Jews* would, of themselves, supply the Deficiency.

LXX. In like Manner, in the Revelation of St. *John*, though the Apostle declares, that it was delivered to him by an Angel, and calls it [1] *The Revelation of JESUS CHRIST, which GOD gave unto him, to shew unto his Servants Things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his ANGEL unto his Servant John*: Yet through the whole Book this Angel speaks indifferently in the first Person, either when he speaks in the Name of God the Father, or in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, or in his own Name. Thus, *Rev.*

[1] *Rev. i. 1.*

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i. 10. St. *John* says, *I was in the Spirit on the Lord's-Day, and heard behind me a great Voice, as of a Trumpet, saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last, &c.* Now this Voice was undoubtedly the Voice of the Angel, who was sent to testify unto him; and yet he speaks in the first Person, saying, *I am Alpha and Omega:* And Verse 13. when he turned to see the Voice that spake with him, he says, [2] *And when I saw him, I fell at his Feet as dead: And he laid his Right-hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not: I am the First and the Last; I am he that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore.* Where it is manifest that this Angel speaks at once both in the Name of God the Father, and of God the Son; because he calls himself *Alpha* and *Omega*, and yet declares he was once *dead*. And yet, Chapter iii. 14 this same Angel speaks only in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, saying, *These Things saith the Amen, the faithful and true Witness, THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION OF GOD:* Which is the Character given by St. *Paul* of *Jesus Christ*, who styles

[2] Rev. i. 17.

him [3] *the First-born of the whole Creation.*

LXXI. However, towards the Close of the whole Revelation, St. John says, [4] *I John saw these Things and heard them, and when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the Feet of the Angel which shewed me these Things. Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not; for I am thy Fellow-Servant, and of thy Brethren the Prophets, and of them which keep the Sayings of this Book: Worship God. And he saith unto me, Seal not the Sayings of the Prophecy of this Book; for the Time is at Hand.—And behold I come quickly; and my Reward is with me, to give to every Man according as his Works shall be. I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End; the First and the Last.—I Jesus have sent mine Angel to testify unto you these Things in the Churches. I am the Root and the Offspring of David, and the bright and the Morning-Star.*

[3] Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, *i. e.* The First-born of the whole Creation; and not, as we translate it, *the First-born of every Creature*, Col. i. 15. [4] Rev. xxii. 8, &c.

LXXII. Where it is manifest, that this *Angel* who had refused Worship and Adoration, and had declared himself to be a created Being, the Fellow-Servant of *John*, and of his Brethren the Prophets; yet because he was sent by *Jesus* to testify that Revelation, [5] which was given unto *Jesus* by *God*, he therefore speaks indifferently in the first Person, *I*, either when he speaks in his own Person, in the Person of *Jesus*, or in the Person of *God* the Father. So that it should seem no extraordinary Thing to find that exalted *Angel* whom *God* had proclaimed *Jehovah*, speaking also in the first Person, and saying, *I am that am*, or, *I am the God of Abraham*, or the *God of Bethel*, &c.

LXXIII. This however is manifest from The whole taken together, that the *Jews* had great Foundation in the Scriptures of the Old Testament for their Opinion of a Δεύτερος Θεός, a Second or Secondary God, that is, one who acted by a deputed Power from the Supreme God; which *Philo* calls

[5] Rev. i. 1.

the Archangel with many Names: For it appears he was therein called, The great Prince which standeth for the Children of Israel; The Word of God; The Wisdom of God; The Similitude, or Image, of God; and Jehovah, or the Name of God.

LXXIV. Now then let us see what Foundation there is in the Scriptures of the Old Testament for the Opinion of a third Person, whom the *Jews ἀποθεάζουσιν, paid divine Honours to.* And here it may be observed, that it hath been already shewed, that two of the Angels, which appeared to *Abraham* in the Similitude of Men, were each called by the Name of *Jehovah*: [6] For as the one which remained conversing with *Abraham*, while the other two went towards *Sodom*, was called *Jehovah*, so also is one of the two Angels which went to destroy *Sodom*, called *Jehovah* also: For, says *Moses*, *JEHOVAH rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah Brimstone and Fire from JEHOVAH out of Heaven.*

[6] See Sect. LVI.

LXXV. It is likewise to be observed, that in the Prophecy of [7] *Zechariah*, that Prophet, in declaring a Vision which he had seen of a Candlestick, with two Olive-Trees by it, says, that an *Angel* talked with him, and *Zechariah* said unto him, *What be these two Olive-Trees upon the Right Side of the Candlestick and upon the Left Side thereof?* And I answered again and said unto him, *What be these two Olive-Branches, which through the golden Pipes, empty the golden Oil out of themselves?* And he answered me, and said, *These are the TWO ANOINTED ONES, THAT STAND by the Lord of the whole Earth.*

LXXVI. Now it is manifest, that that Angel, whose *Portion* is Israel, is by the Prophet *Isaiah* called the Angel of God's Presence. For, says that Prophet, [8] *I will mention the loving Kindness of JEHOVAH, and his great Goodness towards the House of Israel. — In all their Afflictions he was afflicted, and the ANGEL OF HIS PRESENCE saved them.* And as this An-

[7] *Zech. iv. 1, &c.*[8] *Isai. lxiii. 7, 9.*

gel, or *great Prince*, which standeth for the *Children of Israel*, is by that Prophet *Daniel* distinguished by the Name of *Michael*; so it may be further proper to take Notice, that there is another Angel named by a particular Name in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, who is called [9] *Gabriel*; which *Gabriel*, according to St. [1] *Luke*, called himself also *the Angel that standeth in the Presence of God*. So that here are plainly two Angels, one of which, for Distinction-sake, is called *Michael*, and the other *Gabriel*, which are described as standing in the Presence of God, or, as *Zechariah* expresseth it, *which stand by the Lord of the whole Earth*. As a Type of which, according to [2] *Philo Judæus*, it was, that, at the Building of the Tabernacle, God directed only two *Cherubim* to be placed over the *Mercy-Seat* in the *Holy of Holies*.

LXXVII. And as it appears, that the Archangel *Michael* is that Person who is called the *Second Essence* by the *Jews*, so, upon Inquiry, we shall find that the Angel *Ga-*

[9] As *Michael* signifies the *Similitude of God*; so *Gabriel* signifies, the *Strength*, or *Power of God*. [1] *Luke* i. 19.

[2] *Phil. Vit. Mosys*, lib. iii. p. 669. Edit. Franc. 1691.

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briel has a very good Title towards being considered as that *Third Essence*, or Being, to which the *Jews* paid divine Honours. For the Opinion of the *Jews*, with regard to this Third Being, was, [3] that “ after
 “ the Second Essence comes the *Holy Spirit*
 “ which they place in this Royal Dignity,
 “ and Degree of Principality, because it is
 “ the Will of the great Architect to ap-
 “ point him to the Principality of those in-
 “ ferior Beings, who may want his Assist-
 “ ance. Who therefore, obtaining the third
 “ Place, confers on those, who are inferior
 “ to him, those excellent Virtues which he
 “ himself received from another, to wit,
 “ from the divine *Logos*, his Better and Su-
 “ perior, whom we before said was the Se-
 “ cond to the supreme, unbegotten, and al-
 “ mighty God.” So says *Eusebius*, “ All
 “ the *Hebrew* Divines, after that God,
 “ who is over all, and after this first-born
 “ Wisdom, pay divine Worship to the third
 “ and holy Power, which they call the
 “ Holy Spirit, by which they themselves
 “ are illuminated when they are divinely
 “ inspired.”

[3] *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 15.

LXXVIII. Now it is manifest, that the Angel *Gabriel* was employed in the Administration of this Office, that is, in the illuminating of those who were divinely inspired; which the Prophet *Zechariah* metaphorically expresseth, by *emptying through golden Pipes, the golden Oil out of themselves*. Since it was undoubtedly for this Purpose that *Gabriel* was sent to the Prophet [4] *Daniel*, to *make him understand the Vision*: And to *give him Skill and Understanding*. And therefore, it is probable, that this Angel *Gabriel* was that *holy Spirit* who was employed by God in illuminating the rest of the Prophets of Old, and who is so often mentioned in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, under the Name of *the holy Spirit*, the *Spirit of God*, or the *Spirit of Jehovah*. For thus the Prophet [5] *Nehemiah* positively saith, that *Jehovah* testified against the Wicked *by his Spirit in his Prophets*. And the Prophet [6] *Zechariah* saith, *They made their Hearts as an Adamant Stone, lest they should hear the Law, and the Words which the JEHOVAH OF HOSTS HATH SENT BY HIS SPIRIT in the former Prophets*.

[4] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21, 22.

[5] Neh. ix. 63.

[6] Zech. vii. 12.

LXXIX. Which Words plainly prove this Spirit to have been an intelligent Agent, separate and distinct from God, because he was *sent* by him. For though Men may be said to be inspired, or actuated, by the Spirit of God, when God is pleased to inspire or influence them by virtue of his own almighty Power, without deputing any other Spirit to do it: Yet it is manifest that God cannot *send* himself; because those Terms imply a Contradiction. And therefore the Prophet *Isaiab* is said to have been *sent* both by God and his Spirit. For, says he, [7] *And now Jehovah God, and his Spirit hath sent me.* And in the Books of [8] *Judges* and *Samuel*, it is not said, that it was *Jehovah*, but the *Spirit of Jehovah*, which came upon Othniel, and Gideon, and Jephtha, and Sampson, and Saul, and David, to assist them in the Government of *Israel*, and the Execution of their Office. And the holy [9] *David*, in the penitential Psalm, which he composed on his Transgression with *Bathsheba*,

[7] *Isai* xlvi. 16. [8] See *Judg.* iii. 10. vi. 34. xi. 29. xiii. 25. 1 *Sam.* x. 6. xvi. 13. [9] *Psal.* li. 11, 12, 13.

begs of Almighty God, *not to take his HOLY SPIRIT from him ; but, says he, restore me unto the Joy of thy Salvation, and uphold me with thy FREE SPIRIT.*

LXXX. And therefore this holy Spirit is sometimes said to enter into Men when it inspired them. For thus the Prophet *Ezekiel* declares, that the Spirit [1] *entered into him when it spake unto him.* And the Prophet *Isaiah*, speaking of *Moses*, saith, that [2] *God put his holy Spirit within him.* Which likewise shews this *Spirit* to have been a separate intelligent Agent, distinct from God himself, because it is said, that it was God who PUT *this holy Spirit within him.*

LXXXI. And as it pleased God that this *holy Spirit* should sometimes manifest its Abode in particular People by some outward and visible Token for the Sake of the By-Standers, that they might be obedient unto those Persons upon whom it abode ; therefore it is, in the Language of the holy Scriptures, sometimes said to *rest upon* those

[1] Ezek. ii. 2. iii. 24. [2] Isai. vi. 3.

on whom it was conferred. Thus, when God ordered *Moses* to appoint Seventy Elders, who should assist him in the Distribution of Justice, it is said, that [3] *Jehovah* came down in a Cloud, and spake unto him, and took of the Spirit that was UPON HIM, and gave it to the Seventy Elders; and it came to pass, that when THE SPIRIT RESTED UPON THEM, they prophesied and did not cease.

LXXXII. Now it is observed of *Moses*, that, when he came the last Time down from Mount Sinai, [4] *the Skin of his Face shone*, so that the People were afraid to come nigh him. It is therefore probable, that this Manifestation of the *Spirit* which was conferred on *Moses*, and from him divided among the Seventy Elders, was a kind of lucid shining Appearance which rested upon them as an outward and visible Token of the inward Assistance and Illumination of the *Holy Spirit*. And therefore God also commanded *Moses*, when he appointed *Joshua* for his Successor, to [5] *take*

[3] Numb. xi. 16, 25.

[4] Exod. xxxiv. 29.

[5] Numb. xxyii. 20.

Joshua the Son of Nun, and, says he, *thou shalt lay some of thine Honour UPON HIM, that all the Congregation of the Children of Israel may be obedient*: In like Manner, when *Elisha* was appointed Successor to *Elijah*, it is said, *the Spirit of Elijah*, or the Spirit which was on *Elijah*, doth REST ON *Elisha*. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves before him.

LXXXIII. But when this *Holy Spirit* was pleased to make its Appearance, either in the Figure and Form of an Angel or Man, the *Jews* then Ἀποθειάζουσιν, paid divine Honours to it: As *Daniel* did to the Angel [6] *Gabriel*, when it appeared unto him in the Form of a Man; for, saith he, [7] *I was afraid, and fell upon my Face*: As *Ezekiel* also did to the [8] *Holy Spirit*, when it appeared unto him in [9] *the Likeness of the Glory of Jehovah*; for, says he, *When* [1] *I saw it, I fell upon my Face*. Which was the usual Method of Prostration both with [2]

[6] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21. [7] Dan. viii. 17. [8] Ezek. ii. 2. iii. 24. [9] Ezek. i. 28. [1] Ezek. i. 28. iii. 3. xliii. 3, 4. xliv. 4. [2] Ezek. ix. 8. xi. 13.

him, and all the ancient [3] Prophets and Patriarchs, whenever they had any earnest Request to make to Almighty God; or when they apprehended that an Angel sent from God was speaking to them.

LXXXIV. And indeed it seems but reasonable, that, beside the Respect which is due to this *Holy Spirit* on account of the Excellency of its own Nature, there should be a further Degree of Reverence and Regard paid unto him, in proportion to the Degree of Power or Authority over us, which is committed unto him from God: Since it is but just that whatever Degree of Superiority the Almighty is pleased to give to any one Being over others, there should be a suitable Degree of Submission and Obedience paid to that Being, in proportion to the Extent of Authority delegated from God.

LXXXV. Not that Angels, as Angels, have any Right to divine Worship or Adoration upon their own Account; and there-

[3] Gen. xvii. 3. Numb. xvi. 22. xxii. 31. Josh. v. 14. See also Matt. xxvi. 39. Mark xiv. 35. Though he first kneeled down, Luke xxii. 41.

fore all [4] *voluntary Humility and Worship-
ing of Angels*, even the highest, out of
our own Head, or without a Commission
from God for so doing, would be Idolatry :
which was the Reason why that Angel who
was sent from God to shew the Revelation
to St. *John*, reprimanding the Apostle, when
he [5] *fell down to WORSHIP before the
Feet of the Angel which shewed him these
Things*, saying, *See thou do it not. —
Worship God.* Because St. *John* seems to
have paid this *Worship* to the Angel on his
own Account, without any Regard to the
Authority by which he was sent; which
would have been Idolatry. But when Angels
are commissioned from God, with any Degree
of Power over us, and are sent in his Name ;
then it cannot be Idolatry, to pay them such
a Degree of Adoration, as is proportionate to
the Authority with which they are invest-
ed : Because such Adoration or Worship,
not being paid them on their own Account,
but on account of the Authority which hath

[4] Col. ii. 18. — Whether our Translation is strictly
just, I will not say ; but sure I am, that it corresponds to
the Meaning of the Apostle. However *Grotius* may be con-
sulted by any one who wants further Satisfaction.

[5] Rev. xxii. 8.

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been delegated unto them, terminates in the one only and supreme God. See Sect. CXIII, CXIV.

LXXXVI. Which Method of Reasoning may be pursued from the highest Degree of Worship, payable to the most perfect Being next to God, acting with the highest Authority which God is pleased to communicate or delegate, down to the lowest Degree of Deference or Respect, which, Reason instructs us, is proper to pay to some of our own Fellow-Creatures, for the Preservation of a due Subordination in Society: Since in this Sense it is, that [6] *not only the Powers which be, are ordained of God*; but also that those Prophets and Judges of *Israel* [7] *to whom the Word of God came*, are called *Gods*; because they spoke by his Authority, and acted in his Stead.

LXXXVII. Which Doctrine of the *Jews* with regard to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, seems therefore not only to be supported by the Doc-

[6] Rom. xiii. 1. [7] See Exod. xxii. 18. Ps. lxxxii. 1, 2, 6. John x. 34, 35.

trine of the Old Testament, but also reconcilable to Reason ; since, if we do but reflect on the immense Distance there is between the imperfect State of human Beings, and the infinite Perfection of Almighty God, we cannot but think that God should chuse to govern this Universe by a gradual Subordination of Beings, one superior to another ; rather than to be the sole Director or Governor of every the most minute Affair : Not that such a Government would be troublesome to God, or that he would be unable to perform it, or that God can possibly divest himself of the supreme Authority, universal Inspection, and general Superintendency even of the minutest Transaction in the whole Creation : But because it seems more consistent with the divine Goodness and Wisdom, to employ the various Works of his Hands, in the Exercise of those Powers and Faculties with which he hath endowed them ; rather than personally and immediately to interpose in the Conduct of those Transactions, for which he hath created Numbers of Beings furnished with Abilities sufficient to perform them.

LXXXVIII. It is likewise reasonable to believe that the same Method of Government, which God hath ordained in this sublunary Globe, is carried on by a Kind of *Analogy* through the whole Creation. And that as the great Creator hath been pleased to constitute this World in such a Manner, as to require the Authority of some Persons presiding over others, in Families, in Towns, in Cities, in Provinces, in Kingdoms, in Empires; so probably in the great Expanse of Spirits, there are Degrees of Superiority analogous to these sublunary Dispositions; which we have no better Method of expressing, than by calling them in Allusion to the Things which we do know [8] *Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers.*

LXXXIX. And as this Doctrine is reconcilable with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, the Sentiments of the *Jewish* Divines, and with Reason; so is it also with the Scriptures of the New Testament. For, says St. Paul, [9] *Though there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or Earth,*

[8] Col. i. 16.

[9] 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

(for there be Gods many, and Lords many) yet to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all Things, and we by him. That is, there is but one supreme God, in comparison of whom there is [1] none other but he; and with regard to whom Jesus the Christ is only to be called Lord and not God: The Father having given him a Name that is above every other Name, that every Tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is LORD to the Glory of God the Father. Phil. ii. 9, 11.

XC. Which God the Father, as he is described by Moses, under the Character of that God, [2] *whose Face cannot be seen; for no Man can see him and live; so also St. Paul characterises him as that God, who is [3] the blessed and ONLY Potentate, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, WHO ONLY hath Immortality, dwelling in the Light which no Man can approach unto, WHOM NO MAN HATH OR CAN SEE. And St. John says, [4] No Man hath seen*

[1] Mark xii. 32. [2] Exod. xxxiii. 20, 23. [3] 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16. [4] John i. 18. vi. 46. 1 John iv. 12.

God at any Time. Which one, only, invisible God cannot therefore possibly be the same with that God who [5] *was manifested in the Flesh.*

XCI. Whence it appears, that here is a Distinction made by the Apostles between the Divinity of God the Father and of God the Son : And that although the Term of *God*, as when we say, There are Gods many, may be attributed to the Son, yet that, strictly speaking, as when we say, There is but one God, this Appellation is only to be attributed to God the Father ; and accordingly the *Nicene Creed*, as all the ancient Creeds did, begins with saying, *I believe in one God the Father Almighty, &c.* And the Reason assigned for this Distinction by St. *Paul* is, because God the Father is alone to be considered as *the* [6] *first Cause* ; for, says he, *there is one God the Father, OF WHOM ARE ALL THINGS* : And therefore God the Father is by the Son himself styled [7] *the only true God.* For, says he, when speaking of the Father, *This is eternal Life, that*

[5] 1 Tim. iii. 16.

[6] See Sect. iii.

[7] John xvii. 3.

they may know THEE THE ONLY AND TRUE GOD, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.

XCII. As therefore the first Self-existent Cause of whom are all Things, can alone be properly called God, when the Title of God is given in the Scriptures to any other Being but the Father, we are to understand this, only as expressive of some God-like Power, which hath been given or communicated to that Being by God the Father. And accordingly *Jehovah* said unto *Moses*, when he sent him to *Pharaoh*, and communicated to him the Power of working Miracles, [8] *Thou shalt be to him instead of God*: Which he thus expresth in another Place, [9] *See I have made thee a God to Pharaoh*. When all Power therefore in Heaven and Earth was given to the Son, he was made a God to those Beings over whom that Power was given, that is, over those Beings which inhabit this Heaven and this Earth, and over those only, since it is manifest at the same Time, that he must be excepted who did give this Power unto

[8] *Exod. iv. 16.*

[9] *Exod. xvii. 1.*

him ;

him; and therefore St. *Paul* positively declares, when speaking of the Son, that [1] *when it is said, All Things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him: and when all things shall be subdued unto him, then, says he, shall the Son also, that is, even in his highest State of exalted Glory, be subject unto him that did put all things under him, that God may be all in all.*

XCIII. And as that secondary Effence among the *Jews* whose Portion was *Israel*, was by them called *the Word* and *the Wisdom* of God: So it is undoubted that these Appellations were from thence transferred, by the Apostles of *Christ* who were born and bred *Jews*, into the Christian Religion, and applied by them to *Jesus* the *Christ*, who is in the Scriptures of the New Testament called [2] *the Word* and *the Wisdom* of God.

XCIV. And as that secondary Effence was by the *Jews* called *the Image* of God, so is the Lord *Jesus Christ* called in the

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28. [2] John i. 1, 14. 1 Cor. i. 24.

Language of the New Testament, [3] *the Image of the invisible God*: That is, the visible Image, or delegated Representative in Power of the invisible God. For that this is the scriptural Meaning of the Word *Image*, when applied to the Image of an invisible Being, seems plain from many Passages, but in particular from that wherein it is said, that Man was created [4] *in the Image of God*: Because as soon as God is represented by *Moses* as having said, *Let us make Man in our Image after our Likeness*: Then immediately follows, *and let him have Dominion over the Fish of the Sea; and over the Fowls of the Air, &c.* And therefore the *Arabic* Version of the Bible renders this last Sentence to this Purpose, that *by the Image which God enobled, he created him to have Dominion.* And the wise Son of *Sirach* observes, that [5] *the Lord created Men, and endued them with Strength, by themselves, and made them according to his Image; and put the Fear of Man upon all Flesh, and gave him Dominion over Beasts and Fowls.* And that this Word, *Εἰκὼν* *Image*, when applied to

[3] Col. i. 15. [4] Gen. i. 26, 27. [5] Eccclus xvii. 1, 3, 4.

Persons, was generally understood to denote the one as being the Deputy or Representative of the other, in Power and Dominion, is plain from an Expression in *Basil* upon this very Subject. Where he manifestly useth this Word to signify a Viceroy: When, in Answer to this Objection, *But how then, if there are two distinct Persons (in the Godhead) do we not make two Gods?* To which he answers, [6] *Why just as a King, and the Deputy of a King, do not make two Kings.*

XCV. And as the *Jews* supposed their *Logos* to be the same Person with that [7] *Angel of God's Presence*, who is represented in the Old Testament, as being the Guardian Angel of the Children of *Israel*, so also do the Scriptures of the New Testament suppose their *Logos*, or the Lord Jesus Christ to be that very Angel, who brought Redemption to *Israel*; and therefore St. *Paul*, speaking of the Deliverance of the *Israelites* from their *Egyptian* [8] Bondage,

[6] Ὅτι βασιλεὺς λέγεται καὶ ἡ τῷ βασιλέως εἰκὼν, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς. *Basil De Spir. Sanc.* c. xviii.

[7] Exod. xxiii. 20, 21. xxxiii. 2. Numb. xx. 16.

[8] 1 Cor. x. 1—9.

faith,

saith, *Moreover, Brethren, I would not have you ignorant, how that all our Fathers were under the Cloud, and all passed through the Sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the Cloud, and in the Sea; and did all eat the same spiritual Meat; and did all drink the same spiritual Drink: For they drank of that same spiritual Rock that followed them, AND THAT ROCK WAS CHRIST.* He also saith, that by their Misconduct in the Wilderness, *they tempted Christ, and were therefore destroyed of Serpents.* And in his Epistle to the [9] *Hebrews*, he attributes the Perseverance of *Moses* in quitting *Pharaoh's* Court, in obedience to the Commands of the *Jehovah*-Angel, and refusing to be called the Son of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, to his esteeming *the Reproach of Christ*, i. e. the [1] *Reproach of the Egyptians* for *Christ's* Sake, *greater Riches than the Treasures in Egypt.*

XCVI. And as the *Jews* held their *Logos* to have been in the Beginning with God; and to be δεύτερον Θεόν, a second God:

[9] Heb. xi. 26. [1] This Method of speaking was very customary among the *Hebrews*. See Psal. lxxxix. 50. Gal. vi. 17. 1 Pet. iv. 13.

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So also do the Scriptures of the New Testament acknowledge their *Logos*, or the Lord Jesus, to be called [1] *Emmanuel*, which being interpreted is, *God with us*. He is therefore frequently, in the Language of the New Testament, spoken of as such. Thus *John* the Evangelist positively says, that [2] *the Word was God*. And St. *Paul* calls him, [3] *God manifested in the Flesh*. And St. *Thomas*, when speaking to him, fully and positively calleth him, [4] *my Lord and my God*.

XCVII. But then these Scriptures are in other Places very expressive, with regard to the Superiority of God the Father, over God the Son: Thus St. *Peter*, in that Speech which he makes to the *Jews*, *Acts* ii. 33. where he is applying a Passage, out of the cxth *Psalms*, to our Saviour, says, *For David is not ascended into the Heavens: But he saith himself, "The Lord*
" said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my
" Right Hand, until I make thine Ene-
" mies thy Footstool." Therefore, says
St. Peter, let all the House of Israel know

[1] Matth. i. 23. [2] John i. 1. [3] 1 Tim. iii. 16.
 [4] John xx. 28.

assuredly,

assuredly, that God hath MADE that same Jesus whom ye crucified, both Lord and Christ. Which shews that the Son could not have been from all Eternity co-equal to the Father, since the Father could not have made him either Lord or Christ, if he had no Superiority over him. And accordingly, St. Paul applies that Text of Scripture to *Jesus Christ*, which David maketh use of in the Psalms, when he saith, [6] *Thy Throne, O GOD, is for ever and ever; a Sceptre of Righteousness is the Sceptre of thy Kingdom: Thou hast loved Righteousness and bated Iniquity; therefore God, EVEN THY GOD, hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladness above thy Fellows.* In which Passage, though *Christ* is undoubtedly called *God*, yet the Superiority of God the Father over this God, is manifestly preserved; because he is called even *his God*. And the Lord *Jesus Christ*, when he was departing out of this Life, not only [7] *offered up Prayers and Supplications* unto the Father, *as unto him that was able to save him from Death*; but also [8] *cried with a loud Voice, saying, MY GOD, MY GOD, why hast thou forsaken me?*

[6] Heb. i. 8. [7] Heb. v. 7. [8] Matth. xxvii. 46.

XCVIII. I am not ignorant, that in order to invalidate this Argument, it is said, that this last Expression was spoken only in regard to his human Nature, with respect to which he was undoubtedly inferior to God the Father; but in answer to this, it is to be observed, that in the first Passage here alluded to in the cxth Psalm, our Saviour is there called *Lord*, and yet *Jehovah* is said by St. Peter, to have made him both *Lord* and *Christ*. And in the second Passage here quoted, the Psalmist speaks of him as *God*, yet at the same Time declares God the Father to be his God. And the same Method of speaking is continued in the Scriptures, not only while he was here in this World, subject to Mortality; but after he had overcome Death, and the Grave, even after his Resurrection; at which Time, he also acknowledges God the Father to be his God: For when *Mary* would have approached unto him, he said, [9] *Touch me not, or, do not stay to touch or mind me at present, for I am not yet ascended unto my Father; but go to my Brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my*

[9] John xx. 17.

Father,

Father, and your Father, UNTO MY GOD, AND YOUR GOD. And the Apostle *Paul*, in speaking of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, even after his Ascension, after his Exaltation, after he had been seated [1] *at the Right Hand of God, far above all Principality, and Power, and Might, and Dominion*, speaks of God the Father, as still being *his God*. For says he, [2] *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*. And again, he saith to the *Ephesians*, *Wherefore, I cease not to give Thanks for you, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the Spirit of Wisdom*. And in the Revelation of St. *John*, the Apostle speaking of *Jesus*, saith, [3] *who hath made us Kings and Priests TO HIS GOD AND FATHER.*

XCIX. And indeed the whole Conduct and Behaviour and Doctrine of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, while he was in this World, was correspondent thereto; for he not only speaks of the Superiority of God the Father in general Words, as when he says, in express Terms, [4] *the Father is greater*

[1] Eph. i. 20, 21. [2] Eph. i. 3. [3] *Τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἀντί.* Rev. i. 6. [4] John xiv. 28. x. 29.

H

than



than I; and again, the Father is greater than all: But acknowledges that his whole Conduct, not only while he was in this World, but before he came into it, before he had taken human Nature upon himself, was in Submission to the Will and Commands of God. For he acknowledges, in numberless Places, that it was the Father who sent him, and gave him a Commandment what to do. [5] For, says he, I must work the Work of him that SENT me; and again he says, The Father which SENT me, he GAVE ME A COMMANDMENT, what I should say, and what I should speak. And again, As the Father GAVE ME COMMANDMENT, so do I. We may therefore fairly argue, as our Saviour himself does upon another Occasion, that [6] as the Servant is not equal to his Lord, neither is he that is sent equal to him that sent him. He therefore also acknowledged, that all the Power he was possessed of, not only natural, but supernatural, was received from the Father, and was [7] given unto him. And this not only while he was upon Earth,

[5] John ix. 4. xii. 49. xiv. 31, &c. &c. [6] John xiii. 16. [7] John v. 26. xvii. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, &c. &c.

while he was clogged and fettered with the Shackles of Mortality : But even after his Resurrection, and Ascension, and Exaltation, he declares, that all the Power which he had in Heaven and Earth, was [8] *given unto him* of the Father. And some Years after that, St. Paul, in his Epistle to the [9] *Corinthians*, saith, *But I would have you know, that the Head of every Man is Christ; and the Head of the Woman is the Man; and the HEAD OF CHRIST IS GOD.*

C. And as *Moses* was commanded by God to obey the Voice of the *Angel*, which he sent to keep him in the Way; and to provoke him not, because *his Name was in him*; so the Lord *Jesus Christ* declares, that the Honour which is due unto him is on the Father's Account; that is, because he was sent from the Father: For, says he, [1] *The Father hath committed all Judgment to the Son, that all Men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father*: And then he adds the Reason, *For, he that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him.*

[8] Matth. xxviii. 18. [9] 1 Cor. xi. 3. [1] John v. 22, 23.

CI. It is likewise very remarkable, that in this Place, as well as in *Exodus* xxiii. 21, where God ordereth *Moses* and the *Israelites* to obey the Angel which was sent in his Name, the Incitement offered for *honouring* the one, as well as *obeying* the other, is the Power of *Judgment*, that was committed unto them. For, says God to *Moses*, *Beware of him, obey his Voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your Transgressions.* And in the New Testament, our Saviour observes, that ALL JUDGMENT WAS COMMITTED TO THE SON; *that all Men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.*

CII. It is a Remark made by Sir *Isaac Newton*, that the Worship which is due from Man to God, is on account of the Dominion he hath over him. For, says he, “ [3] God is a relative Term, which
 “ has Reference to Subjects, and the Word
 “ Deity, denotes the Dominion of God,
 “ not over his own Body, (as the ancient
 “ Philosophers imagined, who called God

[3] Newt. *Prin. Schol. gener.*

“ the Soul of the World) but over Subjects.”
 And again, he saith, “ We arrive at the
 “ Knowledge of God, by considering his
 “ Properties and Attributes; by inquiring
 “ into the wise Formation and Constitution
 “ of all Things; and searching into their
 “ final Causes; but we worship and adore him
 “ on account of his Dominion.” So that
 the Son becometh our God, not so much on
 account of his having been employed in our
 Creation, and *that by him God created the*
Worlds, as because *all Judgment is com-*
mitted unto him, this being the great *Obli-*
gation of all Duty: There being no Reason
 for Men to lay themselves under any Re-
 straint, in obeying or disobeying the Com-
 mands of any Being, which hath no Power
 over them.

CIII. Now the Reason why Almighty
 God was pleased to commit this Power of
 Judgment unto the Son, is also assigned;
 for, says our Lord Jesus, [4] *The Father*
hath given to the Son Authority to execute
Judgment; because he is the Son of Man.
 That is, as a Reward for having taken hu-

[4] John v. 26, 27.

man Nature upon him. For, upon the Fall of *Adam*, this Son of God, being willing to undertake the Redemption of Mankind, [5] *he was* accordingly [6] ANOINTED of God for to do whatsoever his Hand and his Council predetermined to be done. That is, he was [7] *anointed* to do and to suffer, whatsoever it should please God for him to do or to suffer. And for an Encouragement in which Undertaking, God was pleased to propose to this his anointed Son, that on the Performance of such Things as God should appoint for him to do, he should be exalted to [8] *Joy and Glory*.

CIV. When therefore, in the Fulness of Time, it pleased God to send forth his Son, who being [9] *in the Form of God* nevertheless divested himself of that Glory which he had with the Father before the World was, and [1] *came down from Heaven, not*

[5] Acts iv. 27, 28. [6] Hence called the *Messiah*, which literally signifies the *anointed*. [7] Or *appointed*. This Term of *anointing* being made use of, instead of *appointing*, in compliance with the human Custom of *anointing* Persons, when they were *appointed* to the Administration of particular Offices, such as either *King, Priest, or Prophet*. See 1 Sam. xiii. 1. 2 Sam. ii. 7. Exod. xxix. 7. Isai lxi. 1. [8] Heb. xii. 2. 1 Pet. i. 11. [9] Phil. ii. 6. [1] 1 John iv. 34. v. 30. vi. 38, 42.

to do his own Will, but the Will of him that sent him; [2] The Spirit having testified beforehand the Sufferings of Christ, and the Glory that should follow; he therefore [3] for the Joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame: [4] Wherefore God also hath highly EXALTED him, and [5] set him at his own Right-hand EXALTED, [6] and hath given him a Name that is above every Name, that [7] IN THE NAME OF JESUS every Knee should bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things in Earth, and Things under the Earth: And that every Tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is LORD to the Glory of God the Father.

CV. Wherefore Jesus having [8] finished the Work which his Father gave him to do, and manifested his Name unto Men, that they might know God the Father the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent; and having persisted therein unto Death, [9] that he might reconcile both Jews and Gentiles unto God in one Body by

[2] 1 Pet. i. 11. [3] Heb. xii. 2. [4] Phil. ii. 9.
[5] Acts ii. 33. Eph. i. 20, &c. [6] Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11.
[7] Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι. [8] John xvii. 4. vi. 3. [9] Eph. ii. 16.

the Cross: And having been [1] *for the Suffering of Death crowned with Glory and Honour*; instead of the Portion of *Israel*, which had been before the Line or Boundary of his Inheritance; he had now [2] *Power given him over all Flesh*. And [3] *all Nations* were made of one Blood under him, and *the Bounds of their Habitations* were brought within the Line of his Inheritance: And [4] *there was given unto him Dominion and Glory, and a Kingdom, that all People, Nations, and Languages should serve him*.

CVI. From this Time forth, therefore, his Disciples were sent unto [5] *all Nations*, to [6] *preach the Gospel unto every Creature*. And what is remarkable is, that, from this Time, the same *Holy Spirit*, which under the *Mosaical Dispensation* [7] spake by the Prophets, and had only illuminated the Minds of those of the Sons of *Israel*, to whom the *Word of God* came, was, through the Intercession of *Jesus Christ*, conferred

[1] Heb. ii. 9. [2] John xvii. 2. [3] Acts xvii. 26. [4] Dan. vii. 14. [5] Matt. xxviii. 10. [6] Mark xvi. 15. [7] 2 Pet. i. 21. and Nicene Creed.

upon all Mankind that believe on him, of what Nation soever they be, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*; and *shed forth* his benign Influence on all those who come to God through *Jesus Christ*: That [8] *through him both Jews and Gentiles may have an Access by one Spirit unto the Father*. That [9] *the Blessing of Abraham*, wherein it was promised, that in his Seed should all the Nations of the Earth be blessed, *might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ, that they might receive the Promise of the Spirit through Faith*: And that [1] *all might be baptized into one Body, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, whether they be bond or free, and might all be made to drink into one Spirit*.

CVII. When therefore *Jesus Christ the Lord* was raised from the Dead, and formally invested in the Possession of that Kingdom which [2] *the Father had appointed unto him*; having received from the Father the Promise of the Holy Spirit, he shed forth this Holy Spirit [3] *abundantly*, as well upon the [4] *Gentiles* as the *Jews*,

[8] Eph. ii. 18. [9] Gal. iii. 14. [1] 1 Cor. xii. 13.
[2] Luke xxii. 29. [3] Tit. iii. 6. [4] Acts xi. 15.

putting

putting no Difference between them. Which Holy Spirit is sometimes, in the Language of the Scriptures of the New Testament, called *the Spirit of God* the Father, because he [5] proceedeth from the Father who sent him unto us; and sometimes *the Spirit of the Son*, or *the Spirit of Christ*, because it was by the Intercession of *Jesus the Christ* that the Supply of this Holy Spirit was sent unto us; and is also called [6] *the Spirit of Truth*, because it was sent to *guide Mankind into all Truth*.

CVIII. Now St. *John* plainly calleth that *Holy Spirit*, by which he was inspired with the Book of *Revelations*, an *Angel*. For his Words are these, [7] *The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his Servants Things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by HIS ANGEL unto his Servant John*. And yet through this whole Book, he calls this Revelation, the Dictates of the Spirit. [8] *He that hath Ears to hear, says he, let him hear what the SPIRIT saith unto the*

[5] John xv. 26. [6] John xvi. 13. xiv. 26. 1 John ii. 20, 27. [7] Rev. i. 1. [8] Rev. ii. 7, 11, 17, 19. iii. 6, 13, 22.

Churches. And it is very remarkable, that although the Virgin *Mary* is positively said to have been [9] *found with Child of the Holy Spirit*, and to have conceived of the *Holy Spirit*; yet the Person sent to her from God upon this Occasion, calls himself *an Angel*, and in particular, [1] *the Angel Gabriel that standeth in the Presence of God*; who under the old Covenant had been sent to inspire [2] *Daniel* with Skill and Understanding.

CIX. Which [3] *Angel GABRIEL* being sent from God unto the Virgin *Mary*, The *ANGEL*, says St. *Luke*, *came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: Blessed art thou among Women. Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy Womb, and bring forth a Son, and shalt call his Name Jesus. Then said Mary unto the ANGEL, How shall this be, seeing I know not a Man? And the ANGEL answered and said unto her, THE HOLY SPIRIT shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also*

[9] Matt. i. 18, 20. [1] Luke i. 19, 26. [2] Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21. [3] Luke i. 26.

that holy Thing, which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God. And Mary said, Behold the Handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy Word.

CX. Which is all the Account we have of this Affair, but that after she returned from her Cousin *Elizabeth's*, where she had remained three Months, [5] *she was found to be with Child, before she and Joseph, to whom she was espoused, had come together; then Joseph her Husband being a [6] good-natured Man, and not willing to make her a public Example, was minded to put her away privately. But while he thought on these Things, behold THE ANGEL of the Lord appeared unto him in a Dream, saying, Joseph, thou Son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy Wife: For that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit. Then Joseph, being raised from his Sleep, did as the ANGEL of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his Wife: And knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born Son.*

[5] Matt. i. 18, 19, 20. [6] Δίκαιος. This Word is often used to signify a *good-natured* Person, in which Sense also the Word *justus* is frequently used in the *Latin* Tongue. And in this Sense this Word ought to be understood, Acts x. 22. 1 John i. 9.

CXI. The pre-existent Spirit of the *Logos* being therefore, by the wonderful Power and Will of God, conveyed into the Womb of the Virgin by the Ministration of the Holy Spirit, she conceived and brought forth *Jesus*: By which Union of that exalted Spirit with human Nature, the *Logos* became incarnate, and was made Man. Which *Logos* did, by this Piece of Condescension, so far ἐκένωσε ἑαυτὸν, [7] *empty himself*, and divest himself of that Glory of his antecedent State, which he had with the Father, before the World was, that, Sin only excepted, he became liable and subject to all the Infirmities of our Nature. And therefore, during the Time of his Continuance here upon Earth, he is represented all along as being under the Guidance and Conduct of the *Holy Spirit*.

CXII. He is accordingly said to have been [8] *led up of the Spirit into the Wilderness to be tempted of the Devil*: And that when the [9] *Devil had ended his Temptation*, *Jesus returned in the Power of the*

[7] Phil. ii. 7. [8] Matth. iv. 1. [9] Luke iv. 13, 14.

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Spirit into Galilee. That afterwards, he [1] cast out Devils by the Spirit of God, which [2] descended upon him at his Baptism, in a [3] visible Manner, and abode upon him for some Time. He is therefore said to have been [4] anointed with the Holy Spirit, and with Power: And that when he was in an Agony praying with Vehemence to God, that, if possible, the Cup of his Afflictions might pass from him, [5] an Angel appeared unto him from Heaven, strengthening him: That it was through [6] the eternal Spirit, that he offered himself without Spot to God upon the Cross: That when he was in the Grave, he was [7] quickened by the Spirit, and [8] declared to be the Son of God with Power, according to the Spirit of Holiness, by the Resurrection from the Dead.

[1] Matth. xii. 8. [2] John i. 22. [3] *i. e.* By the Descent of a lucid shining Appearance which alighted, and rested upon him, ὡς εἰς περιστερὰν, *as a Dove*. Not that this alludes to the Form and Figure of the Appearance, as if it was in the Shape of a Dove; but to the Manner of its Descent, which descended and alighted upon our Saviour, as a Dove descends and lights upon any thing. See Sect. lxxxii. and *Whity* on Luke iii. 26. [4] Acts x. 38. See Note in Sect. ciii. [5] Luke xxii. 42, 43. [6] Heb. ix. 14. [7] 1 Pet. iii. 18. [8] Rom. iii. 4.

CXIII. And indeed it does not appear, either in the Old or New Testament, that the *Logos* had any Power over the Holy Spirit, till after his Ascension, [9] when *all Power was given unto him, both in Heaven and Earth*. For, said Jesus to his Disciples, [1] *It is expedient for you, that I go away; for if I go not away, the COMFORTER will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you*. For, [2] *I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth, [3] which proceedeth from the Father: Whom I will send to you from the Father*. For, as St. John remarks, [4] *the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified*. He therefore after his Resurrection, commanded his Disciples [5] *not to depart from Jerusalem, till after his Ascension, but to wait for the Promise of the Father*. Which having [6] *received of the Father, he shed it forth upon them*. From which Time, *this Spirit* is indifferently called *the Spirit of*

[9] Matth. xxviii. 18, 19.

[1] John xvi. 7.

[2] John xiv. 16.

[3] John xv. 26.

[4] John vii. 39.

[5] Luke xxiv. 49. Acts i. 4.

[6] Acts ii. 33.

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God, and [7] *the Spirit of Christ*, or [8] *the Spirit of the Son*; because the Son had now obtained Power of the Father, to send him, not to the *Jews* only, but also to the *Gentiles*; that all Nations might be baptized, [9] *in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*; [1] *that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit*. It seems therefore highly reasonable, that we should pay divine Homage to that Holy Spirit in proportion to the Degree of Power which hath been delegated to him, from the Almighty; and that it is our Duty to pray to him, for the Communication of those *sanctifying* Graces, which he hath received Power from God the Father, through the Son, to distribute to his Disciples. I do not say that we ought to pray to him for the Forgiveness of our Sins, because [2] *all Judgment* hath not been committed unto him: But as he was undoubtedly sent, to be our [3] *Comforter*, to *guide us into all Truth*, and to *help our Infirmities*, surely we ought to pray to him, to comfort us, and to grant

[7] Rom. viii. 9. [8] Gal. iv. 6. [9] Matth. xxviii.
19. [1] Rom. x. 16. [2] See Sect. lxxxv, c, ci, cii.
[3] John xiv. 26. John xvi. 13. Rom. viii. 26.

us his Assistance, that we may *be* [4] *led by him*, and that we may, *of the Spirit, reap Life everlasting*. And as *the Manifestation of the Spirit was given to every Man to profit withal*; and as *to one is given by the Spirit the Word of Wisdom, and to another, the Word of Knowledge, by the same Spirit, dividing to every Man severally as he will*; surely it is but reasonable, that we should apply to that Holy Spirit, who [5] *searcheth in our Hearts the deep Things of God*, to confer such a Portion of his Influence on our Minds, as may by Degrees [6] *quicken and strengthen us*, till we shall be at length *filled therewith*. Lest also on the other hand, by neglecting so manifest a Duty, we should thereby [7] *grieve and do such despite to the Spirit of Grace*, as entirely to *quench it*. See Sect. lxxxiv, lxxxv.

CXIV. I apprehend therefore, it is manifestly shewed in these Papers, that, from the Consideration of the Nature of Spirit, by the Light of Reason, it appears, there can be but one God, that is, one supreme

[4] Rom. viii. 14. Eph. vi. 8. 1 Cor. xii. 7. &c.
 [5] 1 Cor. ii. 10. [6] 1 Pet. iii. 18. Eph. iii. 16. v. 8.
 [7] Eph. iv. 3. Heb. x. 29. 1 Thess. v. 9.

intelligent Agent; which one God may, however, create an infinite Series of spiritual Agents, in Subordination one to another; some of which may, by an Authority communicated to them, from the supreme God, act *as Gods*, with regard to those inferior Beings who are committed into their Charge. I apprehend it likewise appears from the Sentiments of the *Jews*, as well as from the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, that this is the Method of Government, which the Almighty hath been pleased to pursue in the Oeconomy of this Universe; still reserving to himself that incommunicable Quality of *Supreme*, which it would be a Contradiction to suppose him divested of, either with or without his Will; that is, either by his own Consent, or by Necessity.

CXV. It may not therefore be improper to consider, what was the Opinion of the most early Fathers of the Christian Church upon this Head; which though it ought to have no Weight against the express Dictates either of Reason or Revelation, yet, in Points not fully or distinctly revealed, the consulting of them is very proper and useful; as they

they certainly are the best Evidence that can possibly be had of the Sentiments of the Church in their Times ; and the nearer that those Fathers lived to the Times of the Apostles, they may justly be supposed to be the less liable to have varied from any of the Doctrines or Practices of the truly primitive Church.

CXVI. Now if we consult the Opinions of the Fathers upon this Subject, for the first three hundred Years after Christ, we shall find them all universally agreeing in the aforementioned Doctrine : As may appear by consulting *Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tatian, Irenæus, the Author of the Recognitions, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Lactantius, &c.* out of which it seems needless to produce any Quotations, as this Point is plainly given up by three of the most learned Persons of the last Age ; two of whom being of a contrary Opinion from those Fathers, cannot be suspected of lightly giving up a Testimony of so much Consequence, if the Flagrancy of the Truth had not obliged them to it : And these are, the judicious Mr.

Chillingworth, the learned Bishop *Bull*, and the discerning Dr. *Cudworth*. The Opinion of Mr. *Chillingworth* is to be found in a Letter of his to a Friend, who desired to know what Judgment might be made of *Arianism*, from the Sense of Antiquity. In answer to which Mr. *Chillingworth* wrote the following Letter : “ I was mistaken in
 “ my directing you to *Eusebius* for the
 “ Matter you wott of. You shall find it in
 “ a Witness much farther from Exception
 “ herein than *Eusebius* ; even *Athanasius*
 “ himself, the greatest Adversary of that
 “ Doctrine ; and *Hilary*, who was his Se-
 “ cond. See the first in *Ep. de Synodis*
 “ *Arim. & Seleuc.* p. 917. D. Tom. 1. Edit.
 “ *Par.* 1627. See the second, *De Synodis*,
 “ *fol.* 97. In the first you shall find that
 “ the Eighty Fathers, which condemned Sa-
 “ mosatenus, affirmed expressly — *That the*
 “ *the Son is not of the same Essence of the*
 “ *Father.* Which is to contradict formal-
 “ ly the Council of *Nice*, which decreed *the*
 “ *Son coessential to the Father.* In the
 “ Second you shall find these Words, to
 “ the same Purpose : — *Octoginta Epif-*
 “ *copi olim respuerunt τὸ Homoousion.* See
 “ also, if you please, *Iust. cont. Tryph.*
 “ p. 283,

“ p. 283, 356, 357; *Tertullian* against
 “ *Praxeas*, cap. ix; *Novat. de Trin. in fine*,
 “ who is joined with *Tertul. Athanas. Ep.*
 “ *de fide div. Alex. tom. i. p. 551*; *Basil*,
 “ *tom. ii. p. 802, 803. Ed. Par. 1618.* See
 “ *St. Hierom. Apol. ii. contra Ruff. tom. ii. p.*
 “ *329. Par. 1579.* See *Petav. upon Epiph.*
 “ his *Panar. ad Hæres. 69. quæ est Arii p.*
 “ *285.* And consider well how he clears
 “ *Lucian* the Martyr, from *Arianism*, and
 “ what he there confesses of all the ancient
 “ Fathers.

“ If you could understand *French*, I
 “ would refer you to *Perron*, p. 633, of his
 “ Reply to King *James*; where you should
 “ find these Words: *If a Man should de-*
 “ *mand of an Arian, if he would submit to*
 “ *the Judgment of the Church of the Ages*
 “ *precedent to that of Constantine, he would*
 “ *make no Difficulty of it; but would press*
 “ *himself that the Controversy might be de-*
 “ *cided by that little which remains to us*
 “ *of the Authors of that Time.* For an A-
 “ rian would find in *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*,
 “ and others which remain of those Ages,
 “ that the Son is the Instrument of the Fa-
 “ ther; that the Father commanded the Son

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“ in the Works of Creation; that the Fa-
 “ ther and the Son are ALIUD ET ALIUD,
 “ which Things be that should now hold,
 “ now when the Language of the Church is
 “ more examined, would be esteemed a very
 “ Arian.

“ If you read *Bellarmino* touching this
 “ Matter, you should find that he is trou-
 “ bled exceedingly to find any tolerable
 “ Glosses for the Speeches of the Fathers
 “ before the Council of *Nice*, which are
 “ against him; and yet he conceals the
 “ strongest of them, and to counterpoise
 “ them, cites Authors that have indeed anci-
 “ ent Names, but such as he himself has
 “ stigmatized for spurious or doubtful in his
 “ Book *De Script. Eccles.*

“ Were I at Leisure, and had a little
 “ longer Time, I could refer you to some
 “ that acknowledge *Origen's* Judgment to
 “ be also against them in this Matter. And
 “ *Fisher*, in his Answer to Dr. *White's* Nine
 “ Questions, has a Place almost parallel to
 “ the above cited out of *Perron*.

“ In

“ In a word, whosoever shall freely and
 “ impartially consider of this Thing, and
 “ how, on the other Side, the ancient Fa-
 “ thers Weapons against the *Arians* are in
 “ a Manner only Places of Scripture, (and
 “ those now for the most part discarded as
 “ impertinent and unconcluding) and how,
 “ in the Argument drawn from the Autho-
 “ rity of the ancient Fathers, they are almost
 “ always Defendants, and scarce ever Op-
 “ ponents ; he shall not choose, but confess,
 “ or at least be very inclinable to believe,
 “ that the Doctrine of *Arius* is either a
 “ Truth, or at least no damnable He-
 “ resy [7].”

The Words of Bishop *Bull*, when speak-
 ing of the Sentiments of *Origen* upon this
 Subject, are these : “ I conclude thus with
 “ myself, that *Origen*, who hath been so
 “ severely censured by Divines, both anci-
 “ ent and modern, was really *Catholick* in
 “ the Article of the sacred Trinity ; al-
 “ though, in the Manner of explaining that
 “ Article, he sometimes speaks otherwise,

[7] See the Life of Mr. *Chillingworth*, written by *Des Maizeaux*, p. 51.

“ than the *Catholics* do ; [8] *which is no*
 “ *more than almost all the Fathers did*
 “ *who lived before the Council of Nice.*”
 As for Dr. *Cudworth*, he does not only
 give up the primitive Fathers, in their Ex-
 pressions, but also in their Meaning. For,
 as he undoubtedly thought himself to be in
 the Right, he imagined those Fathers to
 have been in an Error ; and makes use of
 this universal Consent of the ancient Fa-
 thers, of the Three first Centuries, in assert-
 ing the Dependence and Subjection of the
 Son to the Father, as an Argument in Proof
 of the Fallibility of the primitive Fathers of
 the Christian Church. For, says he, [9]
 “ Though it be true, that *Athanasius*,
 “ writing against the *Arians*, does appeal
 “ to the Tradition of the ancient Church,
 “ and, among others, cites *Origen's* Testi-
 “ mony ; yet was this only for the Eter-
 “ nity and Divinity of the Son of God, but
 “ not at all for such an absolute Coequality
 “ of him with the Father, as would ex-

[8] Quod ipsi cum reliquis fere omnibus Patribus, qui
 Concilium Nicænum antecesserunt, commune fuit. Bulli
Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. xi. c. 9. § 22.

[9] Cud. *Intell. Syst.* l. i. c. 4. p. 595.

“clude all *Dependence*, *Subordination*, and
 “*Inferiority*: Those Ancients so unani-
 “mously agreeing therein, that they are
 “therefore by *Petavius* taxed with *Plato-*
 “*nism*, and having, by that Means, cor-
 “rupted the Purity of the Christian Faith,
 “in this Article of the Trinity. Which
 “how it can be reconciled with those other
 “Opinions of Ecclesiastical Tradition be-
 “ing a Rule of Faith, and the Impossi-
 “bility of the visible Churches erring in
 “any fundamental Point, cannot, says he,
 “easily be understood.”

CXVII. For my own Part, I will readi-
 ly give up the Fallibility of the primitive
 Fathers, and whoever will but give him-
 self the Trouble of perusing their Writings,
 will soon be convinced, that they were fal-
 lible Men ; and I therefore only make use
 of their Testimony in this Point, to shew
 what was the Sense of the Church in their
 Days, of which their own Writings are an
 infallible Proof; whether they were fallible
 in themselves or not,

CXVIII. But *Petavius*, says *Cudworth*,
 taxed the primitive Fathers with *Platonism*,
 and

and with having, by that Means, corrupted the Purity of the Christian Faith. That many of the primitive Fathers were bred up in the Schools of the *Platonic* Philosophers can hardly be denied; and that they would be inclined to endeavour to reconcile their own Principles and those of the Christian Religion together, is more than probable. It is also certain, that the *Pagans* held the Doctrine of a *Trinity*, and made use of that Word to express it by; but if it can be proved, that they held a Subordination in the Persons of the *Trinity*, before Christianity appeared in the World, and that all the primitive Christians, whether *Platonists* or not, held also the Doctrine of a Subordination of Power, in the Persons of the *Trinity*, for the first Three hundred Years after *Christ*; then the more probable Consequence to be drawn from thence, is this, That the Doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the primitive Christians, coinciding with the Doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the *Pagans* in general, and by the *Platonists* in particular, wherein a Subordination of Power between the Three Persons of the Trinity was a fundamental Principle, this might be one main Reason, why the *Platonists* were
 so

so ready to embrace the Christian Religion: And not that they corrupted it after they had embraced it; since, had their Principles, and the *Christians* on this Subject originally differed, the *Platonists* would not have been so easily made Converts.

CXIX. It may therefore not be improper at present to set before the Reader a short Sketch of the Doctrine of the *Pagan* Trinity, from whence will appear the Truth of what I have just now asserted.

CXX. The Opinion of the *Egyptians* concerning the Trinity, may be found in *Jamblichus*, who delivers it unto us. For in the Beginning of the Eighth Section, he makes *Porphyry* ask, “ What do the *Egyptians* say is the *First Cause*? Is it Intellect, or something above Intellect? Or, is it one only Being, or is it two, or more? Or, is it corporeal, or incorporeal? Or, is it the same with the Creator of this Universe, or something superior? In short, were all Things produced by One, or by Many?” To which *Jamblichus* answereth, *Πρὸ τῶν ὄντων ὄντων, καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀρχῶν ἐστὶ Θεὸς εἷς, πρῶτος καὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ θεῷ καὶ βασιλείῳ, ἀκίνητος ἐν μονότητι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐνότητος μένων,*

μένων, ὅτε γὰρ νοητὸν αὐτῷ ἐπιπλέκειται, ὅτε ἄλλο
 τί. Παράδειγμα δὲ ἰδρύσθαι τῷ αὐτῷ πατρὸς, αὐ-
 τογόνου, καὶ μονοπάτορος Θεῷ, τῷ ὄντως ἀγαθῷ.
 Μείζον γάρ τι καὶ πρῶτον, καὶ πηγὴ τῶν πάντων,
 καὶ πυθμὴν τῶν νοημένων πρῶτων εἰδῶν ὄντων.
 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῷ ἑνὸς τέττα, ὁ αὐτάρχης Θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξέ-
 λαμψε· διὸ καὶ αὐτοπάτωρ, καὶ αὐτάρχης. Ἀρχὴ
 γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ Θεὸς Θεῶν· μονὰς ἐκ τῷ ἑνὸς, πρὸ
 ὁσίας καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ὁσίας· ἀπὸ αὐτῷ γὰρ ἡ ὁσιό-
 της καὶ ἡ ὁσία· διὸ γὰρ νοητάρχης προσαγορεύεται.
 Αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ πρεσβύταται πάντων,
 αἷς Ἑρμῆς πρὸ τῶν αἰθερίων καὶ ἐμπυρίων Θεῶν
 προσάττει, καὶ τῶν ἐπερανίων. Which is thus
 rendered into *Latin*, by Mr. Gale: *Ante eas*
res quæ vere sunt, & ante Principia univer-
salium, est Deus unus, prior etiam primo
Deo & Rege; est ille immobilis in solitudine
sua Unitatis permanens, neque enim intel-
lectuale ei miscetur, neque aliquid aliud, estque
exemplar sui ipsius patris, de se geniti & uni-
pater Deus; & vere bonus. Est enim majus
quid & prius, Fons omnium & Radix intel-
ligibilium Idearum primarum Entium. Ab
hoc autem uno, Deus per se sufficiens se ipse
explicavit; proinde est sui Pater & sibi suf-
ficiens. Est enim hic & Principium, &
Deus Deorum, Unitas ex uno, ante essentiam,
& Essentiæ Principium; nam ab eo fluit En-
titas

titas & Essentia, quapropter Noetarcha dicitur. Hæc igitur sunt Principia omnium antiquissima, quæ Mercurius supra Deos æthereos & empyreos, & cælestes constituit.

CXXI. I would have translated this Passage into *English*, if I could ; but there are some Parts of it, which seem to me so superintelligible, that I thought it advisable to give it in the Author's own Words ; and refer the *English* Translation of it to some of those Deistical Admirers of the Plainness and Simplicity of the Religion of Nature, who cannot bear the Thoughts of any thing that is mysterious in Revealed Religion.

CXXII. Abstruse and dark however, as it is, we may be furnished by it with some Light towards the Explanation of some Expressions in the *Pythagorean* Trinity, as it is given us by [1] *Simplicius*, in his Comment on *Aristotle*, out of *Moderatus the Pythagorean*:
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄν καὶ πᾶσαν εἰσίαν ἀποφαίνεσθαι· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐν ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄντως ὄν, καὶ νοητὸν, τὰ εἶδη φησὶν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ψυχικόν, μέλειχειν τῷ ἐνός, καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν. For it

[1] *Simpl. in Phys. Arist. fol. 50.*

is plain that the *πρῶτον ἐν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔσιν*, of the *Pythagoreans*, that is, *the First One who is above Being, and all Existence*, is the same (I had almost said *Being*) with that God of the *Egyptians*, who being prior to the First God, is *Super-Intelligible*. That the *τὸ δεύτερον ἐν ὅπῃ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄντως ὄν, καὶ νοῦν, τὰ εἶδη φησὶν εἶναι*. That is, *the Second One who is Existence itself, and Intelligence, and is called IDEA*, is that First, or rather Second God aforementioned, who, according to the *Egyptians*, having unfolded himself, came forth into Being, and was self-begotten, and was equally his own Father and his own Son, who is the Principle of all Existence, and of all Intelligence. As to the *τὸ τρίτον ἐν*, or *Third One*, of the *Pythagoreans*, which they call *ψυχικόν*, or *Animal*, that answers to the third and lower Class of the Empyrean and Ætherial Deities, who were supposed to preside over several Parts of this Universe, being as it were the Souls of this World.

CXXIII. The *Platonic Trinity*, as it was digested into Form by the Disciples of *Plato*, was not very different from this. There is indeed no one Passage in *Plato*,
where

where his Notion of a Deity is delivered explicitly, and reduced into a regular System. For, either out of Fear of his Countrymen, or because he was not settled in his own Notions, or both, he speaks very obscurely on this Subject. That Treatise which he entitles *Timæus*, is the most copious on this Head, and therein he speaks plainly of [2] one sempiternal and unoriginated God. Which God, says *Plato*, when he reasoned within himself about a future God, made this Universe, and placed this [3] perfectly happy God which he begat, as the Soul in the Middle of it.

CXXIV. Which God though he frequently mentions as a created Being, yet he styles him also [4] *the IMAGE of Intelligence*, or of the most intelligent God; *the greatest and best; the most beautiful, and the most perfect, and the only-begotten God*. Which Universe, says *Plato*, when he had thus made and [5] contemplated, he rejoiced

[2] τὸ ὄν αἰεὶ, γένηται δὲ οὐκ ἔχον.

[3] εὐδαίμονα θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐγεννήσατο.

[4] Ἐικόνα τῆ νοητῆς, μέγιστον καὶ ἀρίστον, κάλλιστον καὶ τελειώτατον, and μονόγενῆ.

[5] Whoever reads this, I think, cannot avoid being convinced that *Plato* herein imitates the Account which *Moses*

ced over it. He then made *Time*, and [6] formed the Sun and Moon, and five other Planets, to be the Measures thereof. But as there were yet no Animals, therefore God formed what was wanting, by a *secondary Imitation of the first Exemplar*: πρὸς τὴν τῷ παραδείγματι ἀπολυπόμενος φύσιν. Which is plainly borrowed from that Doctrine among the *Jews*, wherein they asserted Man not to be made in the Image of the Supreme God, but of the Second God. The Words of *Philo Judæus*, as they are quoted by *Eusebius*, are, θνητὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀπεικονιοῦσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον Θεόν, ὃς ἐκείνους λόγους. *Nil enim mortale in summi illius & rerum universarum Parentis imaginem consignari potest, sed in imaginem Secundi Dei, hoc est, ejus Verbi, potest.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang. lib. vii. cap. 13.*

CXXV. *Plato* then, in compliance with the orthodox Notion of his Country, and

gives of the Creation, which he signifies with saying, *And God saw every Thing that he had made, and behold it was very good.* Gen. i. 31.

[6] ἥλιος καὶ Σελήνη, καὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἄστρα, ἐπικλην ἔχοντα Πλάνητες, εἰς διορισμὸν καὶ φυλακὴν ἀριθμῶν χρόνου γέγονεν. See Gen. i. 14; of which this is almost a Translation.

for Fear of the Fate of *Socrates*, says, But as to other Gods which are called [7] *Dæmons*, to speak properly of their Origin, or even to conceive it, is above the Reach of our Faculties; it is therefore our Duty to believe those our Ancestors, who, having unfolded their Natures, affirm them to be the Offspring of the Gods; and so to submit ourselves to the ancient Laws and Customs. And then he introduces the God who [8] framed all Things, as speaking to these *Dæmons*, *Saturn*, *Ops*, *Jupiter*, &c. whom he calls [9] the Gods begotten by himself; and empowers them to be his Instruments in the Production of Animals, and [1] to imitate that Virtue which he had exercised in their Origin.

CXXVI. Whence it is plain, that *Plato* was afraid to speak out; but his Disciples, by degrees, gathering Courage, his System was reduced into Form, before the Time

[7] See Sect. xxxv.

[8] Ὁς τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας.

[9] Τοῖς ἐαυτῷ γεννήμασι.

[1] Μιμῆμενοι τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν περὶ τὴν ὑμῶν γένεσιν.

of [2] *Porphyry*, who, in his Fourth Book of the History of Philosophy, says, "Αχρ. ὅ τε τῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἔφη Πλάτων, ἢ τῷ Θεῷ προελθεῖν ἑστίαν· εἶναι δὲ ἢ μὲν ἀνώτατον Θεόν τ' Ἀγαθόν, μετ' αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον τὸν Δημιουργόν, τρίτην δὲ τὴν τῷ κόσμῳ ψυχὴν. *Usque ad tres Hypostases, dicit Plato, Dei progredi Essentiam ; Et esse quidem dicit Deum summe bonum ; post illum autem secundum Conditozem ; tertium autem Mundi Animam.*

CXXVII. *Porphyry* was reckoned the most learned *Platonist* of his Age ; and flourished about the Time when the substantial Doctrine of the Trinity began to make a Noise ; and therefore his Sense of the *Platonic* Doctrine, is so much the more for our Purpose. It appears therefore from hence, that the *Platonic* and *Pythagorean* Doctrine of the Trinity, did not differ very widely at this Time one from the other, and that That God of the *Egyptians*, which was prior to the first, or the Πρῶτον ἐν of the *Pythagoreans*, was the

[2] *Porphyry* flourished about the latter End of the third Century. His Books were afterwards ordered to be burnt ; but the Quotation which I have here produced may be found in *St. Cyril's Treatise against Julian*, B. viii.

same with the τὸ ἐν, and the τὸ ἀγαθὸν of the *Platonists*. The God of *Existence*, *Ideas*, or *Intelligence*, according to the *Egyptians*, or the τὸ δεύτερον ἐν of the *Pythagoreans*, which they also called εἶδη, *Idea*, being by the *Platonists* called νῦς and λόγος; i. e. *Mind* and *Reason*, or *Wisdom*. And the inferior Class of ætherial Deities, who were considered as the Soul of the World, among the *Egyptians*, answering to the τρίτον ἐν or the ἐν ψυχικόν of the *Pythagoreans*, being called ψυχὴ, i. e. *the Soul*, by the *Platonists*.

CXXVIII. They agreed also in the Offices which were assigned to these *Three Gods*. For the first was asserted to be ὑπὲρ *above* all *Existence* and *Intelligence*. The Second God was *Existence* and *Intelligence* itself, and the Communicator of them to other Beings: He is therefore represented by them as the Δημιουργός, the *Fabricator*, and *Maker* of this Frame of the Universe. The Third God, who is said to partake both of the First and Second Ἐν, or God, was held to be *the Soul* of the World, vivifying and enlivening it.

CXXIX. Hence it is plain, however, that the Disciples of *Plato* had varied from their Master's Plan. Because he positively asserts the one unoriginated God to have made this Universe, and therefore frequently calls him the [3] Δημιουργός. He likewise positively asserts the Second, that is, the God who was begotten by the one unoriginated God, to have been placed by him in the Middle of this round Universe, as [4] *the Soul* of it.

CXXX. It is nevertheless manifest, beyond all Controversy, that both *Plato* and his Disciples held a Kind of essential Subordination to have existed between these Gods, as the *Hebrews* undoubtedly did. And therefore I suppose them to have been more easily converted to the *Christian* Religion than they otherwise would have been.

CXXXI. And accordingly, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, one of those primitive Fathers whom *Cudworth* allows to have acknowledged a Subordination in the Persons of

[3] *Plato* in *Timæo*.

[4] *Id.* *ibid.*

the Trinity, when speaking concerning a Passage in *Plato*, says, [5] “ *I understand*
 “ *this no otherwise, than that the holy Tri-*
 “ *nity is signified thereby, the THIRD being*
 “ *the Holy Spirit, and the SECOND the Son,*
 “ *by whom all Things were made, according*
 “ *to the Will of the FATHER.*” This Passage, to which *Clemens* refers, is to be found in the second Epistle of *Plato* to *Dionysius*, on account of his having complained, that *Plato* was not explicit enough in what he said about the *First Cause* ; to whom *Plato* says,
 “ That these Things must be spoken of in a
 “ kind of *Riddle* ; that if any Accident
 “ should happen to these Papers, either by
 “ Land or Sea, he that finds them may not
 “ be able to understand them. The Thing
 “ therefore, says he, stands thus : *Περὶ τῶν*
 “ *πάντων βασιλέα πάντ' ἐστὶ, ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἕνεκα πάντα.*
 “ *ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλιον ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν. δεύτερον*
 “ *δὲ, περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, ἢ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα.*”
Circa omnium Regem sunt omnia, & illius
Causa omnia : & ipse est omnium rerum pul-
chrarum Causa : Secundum ad Secunda,
Tertium ad Tertia. Which Fear of a Discovery accounts for the seeming Contradic-

[5] *Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. p. 710. edit. Pot.*

tions in *Plato*, and the Darkness in which his Theology is involved, and shews that his Disciples were indeed obliged to pick his Doctrine out of *Riddles*, as he himself expresseth it.

CXXXII. But [6] St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, who was of the contrary Opinion from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that is, who held a Co-equality in the Persons of the Trinity, for he lived in the fifth Century, and about 100 Years after the Council of *Nice*, wherein the Consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was first established in the *Christian* Church; *Cyril*, I say, when speaking of the *Platonic* Philosophy, [7], says, “ There
 “ would have been nothing at all wanting
 “ to the *Platonic* Trinity, for an absolute
 “ Agreement of it with the *Christian*, had
 “ they but accommodated the right Notion
 “ of *Consubstantiality* to their three *Hypos-*
 “ *tases* ; so that there might have been but
 “ one specific Nature or Essence of the God-
 “ head, not distinguishable by any natural
 “ Diversity, and so no one *Hypostasis* any
 “ way inferior or subordinate to another.”

[6] *Cyril cont. Jul. lib. viii.* [7] *Idem ibid.*

CXXXIII. As for the Doctrine of the *three Hypostases*, which is here mentioned by *Cyril*, that was not the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, but was the Doctrine of the *Arians*, as well as of the *Platonists*. It was indeed afterwards adopted by some of the *Consubstantialists*, and was inserted in that Creed which goes under the Name of *Athanasius*; but which could not possibly have been written by him, because he, as well as the rest of the *Nicene Fathers*, insisted upon it, that there was but [8] *one Hypostasis* in the Trinity, any more than one *Usia*, since they, contrary to the Doctrine of the *Platonists*, supposed those two Words to mean one and the same thing; in which however they were certainly so far in the right. For the Word *Οὐσία* literally signifies a *Being*, or *Existence*; and the Word *ὑπόστασις* literally signifies a *Subsistence*, or *Substance*; which hath been shewed in the [9] Beginning of this Treatise,

[8] *Athanasius*, in his Treatise on the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, [vol. i. p. 934.] which was written towards the latter End of his Life, positively asserts: *Ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις οὐσία ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐν ἄλλο σημαίνονμενον ἔχει. Hypostasis enim [idem cum USIA] substantia est, nec aliam significationem habet.* And to the same Purpose in several other Places.

[9] See Sect. ii.

to be the same with a *Being*, or *Existence*. And accordingly, the *Greek Word Οὐσία* is generally translated by the *Latin Word Substantia*. [1] *Socrates*, the Ecclesiastical Historian, who lived after *Cyril*, and was a very zealous *Consubstantialist*, when giving his Opinion concerning the Meaning of the Word ὑπόστασις, says, “that this Word, according to
 “ *Irenæus*, was a barbarous Word; and was
 “ not to be found among the ancient Authors.
 “ But, says *Socrates*, it is used by *Sophocles*,
 “ to signify a *Trap* or *Pit-fall*, to catch any
 “ thing in; and by *Menander* to signify the
 “ Sediment of any thing; as for Example,
 “ if any one should call the *Lees* of Wine
 “ which fall to the Bottom, an *Hypostasis*.
 “ But though this Word was not used by
 “ the more ancient Philosophers, yet, says
 “ he, you must understand that the Mo-
 “ derns make use of it instead of Οὐσία.”
 To say therefore that the three Persons in the Trinity are *one Usia* and *three Hypostases*, is the same thing as to say, that they are *one Substance* and *three Substances* at the same time; which I take to be a Contradiction in

[1] Socrat. Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 7.

Terms, and therefore cannot be affirmed even of God himself.

CXXXIV. For when it is said, in the *Nicene Creed*, that the Son is [2] ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, *of the Substance of the Father*, and that he is ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί, *of one Substance with the Father*, it is not meant thereby that he is of one and the same kind of Substance with the Father, but that he is actually one and the same *undivided* Substance with the Father. Wherein then, you will say, does the Difference consist? Why, according to *Cyril*, not in any natural Diversity, but numerically only; that is, in being said to be *three* Substances, at the same time that they are but *one* Substance.

CXXXV. I am very sensible that in our *English Translation* of the Creed commonly called the *Athanasian Creed*, we have followed the Church of *Rome*, whose Infallibility can give what Signification it pleases to Words, in rendering the Word ὑπόστασις, by the *English Word Person*, that Church

[2] This is omitted in our *English Copy* of the *Nicene Creed*, though it was undoubtedly in the original *Greek*.

having rendered it by the *Latin* Word *Persona*. But let us see whether this will mend the Matter, which we shall find it does not, unless we make use of a shameful kind of Equivocation, by using the Word *Person* in two different Senses, or rather, in no Sense at all. For that the Word *Person* is capable of two different Senses being put upon it is very plain ; thus it is sometimes made use of to denote, *that identical Personality, whereby any one intelligent Agent is distinguished from any other intelligent Agent*. As for Example, when it is said, *Numb. v. 6, 7.*

“ When a Man or Woman shall commit any
 “ Sin that Men commit, to do a Trespas
 “ against the Lord, and that *Person* be
 “ guilty ; then they shall confess their Sin
 “ which they have done,” &c. In this Place the Word *Person* is here put to denote the Man or Woman who was guilty of the Trespas: And can never signify any other Man or Woman, but the offending one only ; nor any more Persons than those that were guilty. According to which Sense of the Word, every separate Person must be considered as a separate intelligent Agent, and every separate intelligent Agent must be considered as a separate Person from every o-

I

ther

ther intelligent Agent, and will for ever, if he exists so long, be the same Person he was, whether he repents or not, whether he is young or old; or whether he exists in this World or in the next. And it would be a Contradiction in Terms to say, that this one Person is two different Persons, or that two different Persons is this same Person; for hence it is that the common Expression takes its Rise, when, speaking of any one Man, we say, this is the very *individual* Person, who did such or such a Fact, because, if he could be *divided*, he would be no longer the same Person.

CXXXVI. But in this Sense of the Word, the *Consubstantialists* will not allow the Word *Person* to be applied to the three Persons in the Trinity, because this would make them as much three separate Beings, as *Matthew, Mark, and Luke*, are three separate Men: And would contradict the *Homousian* Doctrine, which supposes the three Persons of the Trinity to be one *undivided* Substance, or, as *Cyril* expresseth it, *one specific Nature, or Essence*.

CXXXVII.

CXXXVII. Sometimes however this Word *Person* is made use of to denote only the Relation which one intelligent Agent bears to another ; or the distinguishing Mark of his Character, whereby he is to be known from other intelligent Agents, or even from himself, either at different Times, or in different Circumstances. In which Sense of the Word the same individual Person, or intelligent Agent, may be considered as twenty different Persons all at the same Time. For thus the same intelligent Agent may be considered in the Person of a King, of a General, of an Ally, of a Philosopher, of a Father, or of a Son, of an Husband, or of a Batchelor, of an old Man, or of a young Man, &c. &c. For, says *Stephens*, in his *Latin Thesaurus*, *Persona significat qualitatem eam qua homo differt ab homine, tum in anima, tum in corpore, tum in extra positis ; quæ a Rhetoricis annumerantur in Attributis Personæ : ut, Hector ad Priamum Persona Filii est ; ad Astyanactem Persona Patris ; ad Andromachem Persona Mariti ; ad Paridem Persona Fratris ; ad Sarpedonem Amici ; ad Achillem Persona Inimici.* In which Sense of the Word it is that that Expression must be understood, when *Moses* saith of God, that
 he

he [3] *regardeth not Persons*, by which is meant, not that God regardeth not Mankind, as they are so many intelligent Agents, but that he doth not respect Men on account of their personal Circumstances, or Characters, or Figure, or Relation in Life : But neither will the *Consubstantialists* allow this Interpretation of the Word *Person* to be applied to the three Persons in the Trinity, so to be understood as if they were only three different Personages, or Characters, or Attributes, of the same Being ; because that would be manifest *Sabellianism*, and would not allow any real Existence to any of them but one.

CXXXVIII. And though they say that one of these Persons is the *Father*, and the other the *Son* ; they will not allow one to be prior or posterior to the other ; but declare them both to be coequal and coeternal, which is by no means consistent with the Relation that there is between Father and Son : For though the Relation between two coequal coeternal Beings might bear some Analogy to the Denomination of *Brothers*, yet it seems

[3] Deut. x. 17. Matth. xxii. 16. Mark xii. 14.

absolutely

absolutely inconsistent with that of Father and Son.

CXXXIX. But, in order to conduct us a little further into the Knowledge of this Affair, it may be proper to inquire into the Reasons which seem to have led the Compilers of the *Nicene* Creed into this Determination of the Consubstantiality of the Father and Son.

CXL. The Doctrine of *Arius*, was, that *the Son, being begotten of the Father before all Times and all Ages, subsisted only through the Will of the Father: But that he was not eternal, that is, coeternal with the Father; nor did he come into Existence along with the Father.*

CXLI. In order to refute which Doctrine, the *Nicene* Bishops composed a Creed, wherein they asserted the Son to be *of the Substance of the Father, and consubstantial with the Father*; and at the End of the Creed annexed these three Anathemas, or damnatory Clauses: [4] τὰς δὲ λέγοντας ὅτι ἦν πρὸ ἐν ὅτε ἐκ

[4] Socrat. *Eccles. Hist.* lib. i. cap. 8.

ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ἐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἐκ ὧν
 ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκονταί
 εἶναι, ἢ κλισὸν, ἢ τρεπλὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωλὸν τὸν υἱὸν τῷ
 Θεῷ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἀγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ
 ἐκκλησία. *But they who say, There was a
 Time when the Son was not, and that he did
 not exist before he was begotten: Or that say,
 he was begotten out of nothing: Or that say
 he existed out of any other HYPOSTASIS, or
 USIA, than the Father; or was created, or is
 liable to Mutation or Change, the Holy Cath-
 olic Apostolic Church anathematises.*

CXLII. From whence it may be observ-
 ed in the first Place, that these Fathers un-
 derstood the Words *Usia* and *Hypostasis* in
 the same Sense, so as to mean one and the
 same thing; and that as the Son was of the
 same undivided, or individual *Usia*, so was
 he also in the same undivided or individual
Hypostasis with the Father. And possibly
 this may be the Reason why these Anathe-
 mas are omitted out of our present *Nicene*
Creed; because they contradict in Terms
 the *Athanasian Creed*, which asserts, that
 “ there is one *Hypostasis* of the Father, and
 “ another of the Son, and another of the
 “ Holy Spirit.”

CXLIII.

CXLIII. But it does not seem so easy to explain what is meant by the first Anathema : *Cursed be they who say, There was a Time when the Son was not ; and that he did not exist before he was begotten.* However, if it means any thing, it must be this ; that whereas the *Arians* asserted that the Son was begotten before all Time, and before all Ages, nevertheless they asserted, that although they would allow he might, upon that account, in some Sense be called eternal ; yet that the Son could not be coeternal with the Father, because the Begetter must have existed before the Begotten. In order therefore to invalidate the Force of this Argument, and make the Son nevertheless coeternal with the Father, the *Nicene* Bishops, since they could not deny but the Begetter must have existed before the Begotten, seemed to have framed this Anathema, wherein they assert, in Imitation of *Irenæus*, and some few other metaphysical Writers, that the Son did exist before he was begotten : That is, that he did potentially exist in the Substance of the Father, out of which he was afterwards begotten.

CXLIV. And this is the Reason why they likewise anathematized, in the second Place, those who should say, that the Son was *begotten out of nothing*, in order to establish the following Doctrine of the Son being begotten out of the Substance of the Father; which Substance being undoubtedly coeternal with the Father, therefore the Son, who virtually [5] or potentially existed in it, must, according to their Method of Reasoning, also be coeternal.

CXLV. But, with humble Submission to such great Authority, this Assertion absolutely destroys the modern favourite Doctrine of the eternal Generation of the Son: Because that although it should be allowed that the Son might possibly have virtually subsisted from all Eternity, in the Substance, or Mind, of the Father, as every thing did, that either hath existed, or ever will exist, yet I suppose it a Contradiction in Terms to say, that he existed, as a Son, till he was begotten. And therefore that the *Nicene* Fathers have

[5] Δυνάμει ἢ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἀγενήτως, *Potentia erat in Patre, ingenita quadam ratione.* Theod. Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 12.

anathematized all such as will not affirm a [6]
Contradiction.

CXLVI. And I cannot help saying, it is something odd to have these two Creeds established in the same Church, in one of which those are declared to be *accursed*, who deny the Son to be of the same *Ufia*, or *Hypostasis*, with the Father; and in the other, it is declared, *they cannot be saved* who do not assert, that [7] *there is one Hypostasis of the Father, and another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost*.

CXLVII. But, in order to obviate all these Objections, it is thought sufficient by some, to say, that there are many Powers in the divine Nature, which human Beings are not capable of comprehending. Nay, so far are we Mortals from being able to comprehend the Divine Nature, that we know very little of the Things which are on Earth; that there is not one of all the various Things which surround us, that does not contain something in its Frame and Constitution, which is be-

[6] For the Assertions of the *Arians* were ἡν ποτε, ὅτε ὁ υἱὸς ἦν ἡν, &c. That *there was* (a Time) *when* THE SON *was not*, &c. Athan. vol. i. p. 97.

[7] *Athanasian Creed*.

yond the Abilities of the most subtile Philosopher to explain.

CXLVIII. Be it so. — Let us then acknowledge the narrow Limits of the human Understanding ; which, I think, nobody, who looks within himself, can be without sensibly seeing and feeling : But then let us not turn such violent Sceptics, as to assert, that, because we do not know every thing, therefore we know nothing ; that because we cannot see by Night as well as by Day, therefore we must not believe our own Eyes, even when the Sun shines directly over our Heads.

CXLIX. I shall therefore take it for granted, that there are some Truths in Nature, that are level to our Understandings, and that we may pronounce with some Degree of Certainty, for Example, that two and two make four ; and that it is a Contradiction in Terms to say, that the same individual Substance, whether spiritual or corporeal, *can be*, and *not be*, at the same Time, and in the same Place. Now, if the Knowledge of these Propositions is within the Reach of our Understanding, then we may safely affirm, if the Father and Son are *consubstantial*, that
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is, if the Substance of the Father be the same undivided Substance with the Son ; and that the Substance of the Son did enter into the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, and became incarnate ; that then it will follow, of Consequence, that the Substance of the Father did enter into the Virgin's Womb, and was incarnate also. Since otherwise, one and the same individual Substance may be, and not be, at the same Time, and in the same Place.

CL. Again, if this Proposition be taken for granted, which may be found *totidem Verbis*, in the *Athanasian Creed*, that *as the reasonable Soul and Flesh is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ* ; and if this other Proposition be allowed, which may be found as explicitly in the Scriptures, that this one [8] *Christ suffered* for the Sins of Mankind ; then it must follow, of Consequence, that *Christ* suffered in his Godhead, as well as his Humanity ; since otherwise, it would have been the Man *Jesus*, and not *Jesus* the *Messiah*, or *Christ*, that suffered for the Sins of Men.

[8] Heb. ix 28. 1 Pet. ii. 21. iii. 18.

CLI. Now as the Consideration of these Things is, so far at least, within the Reach of our Capacities, if we suppose the Premises aforementioned to be true, which the *Consubstantialists* will hardly deny; the Conclusions, which they will not allow, are, nevertheless, as demonstrably true, as any Proposition in the Mathematics.

CLII. But let us go a little further, and suppose, for the present, that these Things were above our Comprehension; and then I should be glad to be informed of the Reasons why those very Persons who roar so loud against the vain Attempts of Men, in scrutinizing *the Things which belong unto Heaven*, should take upon them to explain those Doctrines, which they themselves declare to be above the Reach of human Understandings.

CLIII. When the *Papists* want to persuade Men out of their Senses, and to prevail upon *Protestants* to acknowledge the absurd Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, they are very ample and florid in their Declamations upon the Immensity and Incomprehensibleness of God and his Attributes; and upon the Minuteness

nuteness and Insufficiency of human Abilities; and are always setting forth, in the strongest Terms, how little we know, and how much we are ignorant. And therefore, say they, since our Saviour hath said, *This is my Body, and this is my Blood*, we ought to believe it to be so, though we could not comprehend the Manner how.

CLIV. All which would be undoubtedly right, and true, if they were to go no further. But if what they say be true, about the Weakness of human Understandings, how came they to have Abilities for explaining those Mysteries, which the rest of Mankind are so unequal to the Inquiry into? Why do they pretend to say, that this Mystery consists in a *Transubstantiation* of the Elements, when there is no such Word in the Scriptures?

CLV. And since it must be undoubtedly acknowledged, that the Belief in any Mystery can be no further required as necessary to Salvation, than in proportion as that Mystery is revealed; if this be a Mystery, surely they ought to leave it as they found it, and not presume to explain that which they declare to be inexplicable.

CLVI.

CLVI. And is not this Method of Reasoning as strong, with regard to *Consubstantiation*, as *Transubstantiation*? It certainly is. And therefore when the *Protestants* argue against the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, the *Papists* never fail objecting the equal Incredibility of a *consubstantial* Trinity.

CLVII. The Doctrine of the Trinity is as certainly revealed in the 19th Verse of the xxviiith Chapter of *St. Matthew*, as the Doctrine of the *Eucharist* is, in the 26th Verse of the xxvth Chapter of the same Evangelist: But the Scriptures are as silent about the *Consubstantiality* of the one, as about the *Transubstantiation* of the other. Whence then came the Revelation of these wonderful Doctrines? Why! both originally from the same Oracle; from the Papal Chair.

CLVIII. I think it therefore incumbent on those *Protestant* Bishops, who hold the Doctrine of a consubstantial Trinity, to inform us of the Reasons why the Infallibility of the Pope must be acknowledged in one of these Instances, and not in the other. And why, if their Eyes are sufficient to let them see, as well as the Pope, that the three Persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are

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one coeternal, coequal, and undivided Substance, when we undertake to argue against it, they should say to us, Ye are blind! ye are blind! Or, why if we are blind, though they are not, this metaphysical dispute should be made a Part of the public Service of the Church, which is an Assembly composed, not only of quick-sighted Philosophers, but of the lowest of the People, who are required there to give their Assent to these equivocal, if not contradictory, Interpretations of Scripture, under the Penalty of eternal Damnation; and to declare, that *every one who doth not keep this Faith whole and undefiled, without doubt shall perish everlastingly; and that this is the Catholic Faith, which except a Man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*

CLIX. I shall accordingly expect some of the Right Reverend Members of the *Protestant Church of Ireland*, either to account for this, or to exonerate their Consciences, by joining in an humble Remonstrance against it: And I do promise, if any of them shall deign to honour this *Treatise* with an Answer, that if it pleaseth God to spare my Life, it shall speedily be followed, either by a Recantation, or a Reply.

F I N I S.



Nr. 1502 Ausgang: 17. 8. 1953

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Clayton, Robert

An Essay on Spirit wherein the Doctrine of the Trinity is considered in the Light of Nature and Reason, as well, as in the Light in which is was held by the ancient Hebrews ... ; Together with Some Remarks on the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds

London 1751

Dogm. 334 cm

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10397959-4